LEISURE IN AN INDUSTRIAL TOWN

A Case Study of Rochdale, Lancashire, 1880-1939

by

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See also the interviews recorded on magnetic tape and enclosed in a box which is labelled accordingly, and accompanies this thesis.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis contains two complementary strands of inquiry. On the one hand, there is an examination of the way leisure was included within a way of life; the home and the neighbourhood being key elements in this account. There is a description of the parameters set by paid and unpaid work on the extent of people's spare time, and what money they were able to spend during it. Note is taken of how patterns of activity and spending differed when childhood, youth and adulthood are compared. On the other hand, there is a survey of the provenance and growth of those institutions arising in the period, together with a picture of the progress of those already present by 1880. The six decades preceding 1939 witnessed a massive growth in the commercial provision for spare time activity; the pub, music hall, and railway companies provide a basis for this, but the cinema, dance hall, radio and gramophone soon outpace them. Over the same space of time, the church and secular societies cease to retain their role as an amenity and as a force for the organisation of people's spare time.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.C.	Associated British Cinemas
A.S.E.	Amalgamated Society of Engineers
E.M.I.	Electrical and Musical Industries
I.L.P.	Independent Labour Party
P.E.P.	Political and Economic Planning
R.E.P.S.	Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society
R.O.	*Rochdale Observer*
R.T.	*Rochdale Times*

INTRODUCTION

The last 15 years have seen a growing interest in the history of leisure and this has been encouraged by the publication of a number of works on the topic.[1] The accounts offered have been of two kinds: those dealing almost solely with leisure, and those including such themes as part of a more general type of inquiry. In both instances the best work has sought to set leisure within the context of the social and economic conditions of a period. Such work has helped to underline the case for seeing the subject matter as an integral part in the workings of a society, rather than an unimportant sequel to developments taking place everywhere else. So far these works have dealt with the 18th and 19th centuries, with particular emphasis on the early and late 1800s, whilst little attention has been paid to the 20th century, except for the Edwardian period. Those pieces dealing primarily with leisure have been almost exclusively national in scope, rather than choosing the format of a closely observed local study. They have also focussed on the provenance and development of institutions concerned with leisure, whilst relating this to class structure and the attempts made by the dominant classes to attain social control. Important as these themes are, they have tended to preclude the more 'mundane' aspects of leisure when related to the routines of domestic life, or to the experience of growing up in a working class neighbourhood.[2] This has meant that the lived features of the topic have been underemphasised, making it difficult to make an assessment of the manner in which leisure took its place in the patterns of everyday life. The aim of this study is to contribute to a remedying of these absences, with the help of source material

gathered within the framework of a local case study.

The thesis contains two complementary strands of inquiry. On the one hand there is an examination of the way leisure was included within a way of life; the home and neighbourhood being key elements in this account. There is a description of the limits set by paid and unpaid work on the extent of people's spare time, and what money they were able to spend during it. Note is taken of how patterns of activity and spending differed when childhood, youth and adulthood are compared. On the other hand there is a survey of the provenance and growth of those institutions arising in the period, together with a picture of the progress of those already present by 1880. The six decades preceding 1939 witnessed a massive growth in the commercial provision for spare time activity; the pub, music hall and railway companies provide a basis for this, but the cinema, dance hall, radio and gramophone soon outpace them. Over the same space of time, the church and secular societies cease to retain their role as an amenity and as a force for the organisation of people's spare time.

A major theme has been the nature of the contact between institutions dealing with leisure, and the local population. The pub, cinema, church and dance hall each operated within a town marked not by social homogeneity, but by difference. Class was the most important factor of social division, for in a capitalist society classes are formed in relation to the ownership of the means of production, and the vast majority of people owned neither factory nor workshop, but had to sell their labour in return for a wage. Gender was another important basis for social division, for men and women took very different roles in daily life. Men were invariably breadwinners, and confined their work to wage-earning outside the home, whereas for

women the prime responsibility was childrearing and the maintenance of the home, interspersed with the added responsibility of waged work. These distinctions are important because they helped to shape the way people used the institutions dealing with leisure. The class and gender of an individual were powerful forces in determining how much time they had to devote to leisure and how much money they could spend. Concerns such as the Church and the Cinema had to appeal to a clientele bound by such limiting factors, but they could only do so if they were geographically and economically accessible. For instance the scores of Sunday schools in the town owed much of their popularity to the fact that they were built close to major areas of housing and made few financial demands on their young scholars, especially the poorer ones. The cinemas, some situated in the town centre and some within the residential areas, offered seats at prices the majority of people could afford.

Though questions of geographical and economic accessibility were significant features in the relationship between the leisure institutions and their clientele, they were not the only ones. The meaning which people attached to their involvement was also important. Social convention, expressed in a widespread concern to sustain, or even borrow a respectable social status, was one element of such contact. The status of an institution could infer much about its user, with negative and positive results; women seen frequenting a pub alone were classed as 'low class', whilst attendance at a particularly well-to-do chapel could confer status. For the working class these preoccupations existed within a culture marked by heterogeneity, for social hierarchies operated within as well as outside the boundaries of a class; men and women, young and old, each placed expectations on one another's behaviour, and pronounced judge-

ment by measurement against the perceived extremes of roughness and respectability.[3] As Robert Roberts has noted, respectability was measured by the quality of food a family put on its table, the cleanliness of the home, how tidy and ornate the front room was, whether or not they possessed a best suit or coat, their attitudes to their children's schooling, and the sobriety of the parents.[4]

Attention has been paid to such themes with the aim of presenting a 'social map' of leisure, to include the individual, the family and the neighbourhood, but also the institutions involved. Instead of attempting to define the term leisure, the major question has been, how was leisure *arranged*? However, a working definition has been adopted, which describes leisure in terms of time; *i.e.* the waking hours spent away from paid work and unpaid housework, such as cooking, cleaning and washing.

The limits imposed on human activity by the workplace offer a series of guidelines for a more detailed picture of the routines and meanings contained within non-work time. The period 1880 to 1939 saw a fluctuating trend toward an improvement in the conventional standard of living for the majority of the population.[5] It also saw a reduction in the number of hours spent at work by manual workers from an average of 54 per week in 1900, to 45.8 in 1924, although this had risen to 46.5 by 1938.[6] The result was increased time and income for private consumption. These major parameters are seen by Eric Hobsbawm as the basis for the emergence of a new way of life.[7] The years sandwiched between the start of the Great Depression in the mid 1870s, and the affluent 1950s are seen to witness the evolution of a highly distinctive working class culture. The last quarter of the 19th century gave an initial impetus to such developments; the Great Depression which badly affected agriculture and the staple

industries, also ushered in a period of falling prices. A flood of cheap consumer goods, for the first time aimed at a specifically working class market, made space for the creation of new, less restricted patterns of consumption. Eating habits were transformed to include a more varied diet, and the shop, whether a multiple or individually owned, came into its own. The fish and chip shop first appeared in this period, alongside a growing number of cooperative stores and multiple butchers' shops. There was also the rise of multiple stores selling factory produced shoes, together with those selling menswear produced on a mass scale in a workshop. Public transport within towns and cities came within economic reach of the working class with the development of the tram, whose routes skirted the closely packed areas of terraced housing characteristic of the urban landscape of this time. The growth of advertising echoed the new departures in retail sales and in the field of entertainment the music hall was to reach the peak of its popularity during the 1890s.

For the working class this relative prosperity and increased consumer choice were not to extend to the Edwardian period, but the foundations were laid for a way of life different from what had preceded it, and from what was to follow:

> In a word, between 1870 and 1900 the pattern of British working-class life which the writers, dramatists and T.V. producers of the 1950s thought of as 'traditional' came into being. It was not 'traditional' then, but new. It came to be thought of as age-old and unchanging, because it ceased in fact to change very much until the major transformation of British life in the affluent 1950s, and because its most complete expression was to be found in the characteristic centres of late-nineteenth-century working-class life, the industrial north, or the proletarian areas of large non-industrial cities like Liverpool and south or east London, which did not change very much, except for the worse, in the first half of the twentieth century. It was neither a very good nor a very rich life, but it was probably the first kind of life since the Industrial Revolution which provided a firm lodging for the British working class within industrial society.

Rochdale, a northern industrial town was one of the 'characteristic centres' referred to by Hobsbawm. Within its factories, streets and houses a significantly new form of culture developed, an important feature of which was a different range of leisure time activities, prompted and encouraged largely by commercially run institutions. The charting of these developments against the background provided by this culture is the major task of the following chapters.

The Use of Historical Material

A description of the place leisure had in the lives of Rochdalians, together with an account of the institutions which were concerned with their spare time, has entailed the use of two kinds of historical material. Oral histories have been important for the assembly of detail on the patterns of daily life, and on the meanings people attached to these. On the other hand, written evidence has been important for the description of institutional developments - matters often neglected by accounts based within the framework of a life history. The personal recollections which are the content of an interview rarely address developments occurring outside the scope of individual experience: for instance the patterns of attendance at a local cinema will be highlighted, whereas its status as an economic institution will not. As Jerry White has pointed out, many important historical themes benefit little, and may even be obscured by an exclusive emphasis on the autobiographical mode of inquiry associated with oral history:

> ...individual experience can tell us little about the forces that shape our lives - make us what we are, and where we live what it is. There is a huge reality outside the boundaries of individual consciousness. [9]

The written sources consulted have included local newspapers,

municipal committee reports, church handbooks, census information and parliamentary papers. The focus has been on local matters, within the framework of a case-study, but in an attempt to set this survey within a broader context, some national developments have been outlined. The factors affecting the commercial development of the cinema and the pub were traceable to the national level; commercial concentration and state legislation had a powerful effect on both these institutions. National perspectives have been added to local ones with reference to trade journals, business histories, contemporary social surveys and parliamentary papers.

In the course of this study interviews extending to 120 hours of magnetic tape were completed with 64 Rochdalians. The oldest person to be interviewed was born in 1889, and the youngest in 1928.[10] The sample included 33 women and 31 men from a range of occupational backgrounds. At the lower end of the social hierarchy were the unskilled labourers, including workers in the building and cotton trades, and in ascending order above those were the semi-skilled and the skilled. Further up the ladder were those involved in teaching, clerical work, or those who owned small businesses; these were lower middle class, although they were often recruited from working class backgrounds. Above these were the entrepreneurs and managers - the middle class.

People were contacted by use of newspaper advertisements, by writing to and visiting five over 60s clubs, by contacting the local social services department, three trade unions, the Chamber of Commerce, and the three main political parties. The majority of successful contacts were made, however, via a municipal day centre for old people, and three sheltered housing units.

At first sight the interviews may be regarded as a simple transfer of information; however this was not the case. Communi-

cation took place in two directions, since the interviews were carried out with the help of a check-list of themes raised by the interviewer.[11] These topics set an agenda of issues thought to be important for the study, but the recordings include other themes touched on by the interviewees in the course of their accounts. Many of the people who consented to take part were surprised that anyone would wish to ask about the things they did in their spare time. They were bemused by the fact that such a mundane topic had been chosen for study, and also unconvinced that they, as individuals of no particular fame or notoriety, would have anything significant to say. From the earliest of the interviews it became clear that the word leisure would hold little meaning for the respondents; instead phrases such as spare time and free time were used to help initiate more detailed accounts of daily and weekly routines. The statements that resulted were often vivid, told as if past events were being relived; they were sometimes tinged with pain or regret, as people looked back on difficult times, or on lives cramped by the lack of opportunity or physical illness.

The recollections of everyday detail, such as the routines of work and the home, plus the opportunities offered by free time at the weekend, were often framed within a wider assessment of the past. People spoke in great detail about their past, but most accounts contained one or more underlying themes, which were present with varying degrees of prominence. In some stories an important theme focussed on a belief that they were of a much better class than the people around them; for others a picture emerged of how poor, and yet how resourceful they were in making the best of what they had. Another important version centred on the belief that people made their own amusements. In some interviews a combination of these themes

punctuated their assessment of their past, but in others a single theme ran through the whole of the narrative. These underlying concerns provided an interpretive framework within which the respondents presented their more detailed recollections. Such themes, though outwardly retrospective, seem to have been informed by comparison between the past and the present. Many statements began with remarks about how things are now compared with what they used to be. The perceptions people had of the present would therefore help to create a framework for their version of the past. That version would perhaps be the product of periods of reflection - of a conscious and sub-conscious kind with others or alone. Television programmes, books, newspapers and films would no doubt have caused some reflection and perhaps re-appraisal of the past; giving a different complexion to some memories, whilst enhancing or blotting out others. People are not sources of evidence in the same way as are written archives, for living involves experience and thought. Their recollections cannot be seen as emerging unchanged retained only for present day consideration, as though sealed away in a time capsule; many years of experience and thought have intervened between the 1920s and the 1980s.[12] The finer detail of an account seems to remain, but the overall nature of what is told, what is left out, skirted around or emphasised, must depend on the effects of retrospective thought.

So far, historians have paid scant attention to the relationship between representations of the past and the present within human consciousness, and few have examined the part played by the modern media in evoking individual and collective reappraisal of the past.[13] The issues dealt with in this study draw upon memories of the common-place such as the sphere of daily routine - aspects of life frequently ignored by historical writers, film and programme makers, in favour

of the more dramatic themes, such as war and political strife. This does not mean that the recollections offered by the interviewees had rested unconsidered in their minds, but it does suggest that any reassessment will have taken place in the light of themes more familiar to local ways of life, such as the constant struggle to 'make ends meet' or the monotony of daily work and domestic routine.

The aim of this study has not been to recreate the past within the orderly confines of a text; human history is too complex, to avail itself to such treatment. The past is a flux, knowledge of which comes only by asking questions. The questions asked will depend on who the questioner is, and the moment from which they view the past. The themes of inquiry already outlined, form the interpretive framework for this work. It has involved the use of historical information bequeathed to us by our predecessors and our contemporaries, but this data has been viewed within the context of the preoccupations and emphases that have motivated this inquiry. To pretend that historical writing consists of relaying a series of facts from previous times to the present, would indeed be a misrepresentation of the past.

CHAPTER 1

ROCHDALE: AN INDUSTRIAL TOWN

Rochdale lies in the Pennine valley of the river Roche, from which it took its name. The town was a highly important element in the industrial economy of south east Lancashire, a role it shared with five other major urban centres, all situated within a 15 mile radius of Rochdale town hall.[1] To the south stood Manchester and Salford, to the south east Oldham, and to the west Bury and Bolton, each highly dependent on the manufacture of cotton yarn and cloth. Rochdale owed much of its economic standing to cotton, but it also shared a history of worsted and flannel production with the woollen towns of Halifax and Huddersfield which were to the east of the Pennine hills. In the mills of Rochdale the spinning and weaving of American cotton took priority; it produced the fourth largest quantity of spun yarn of all the Lancashire towns, but was also the fourth largest manufacturer of woven cotton cloth.[2]

The 1911 Census of England and Wales showed that approximately half of the town's workforce were involved in the textile trades, including cotton, worsted and wool.[3] In common with other Lancashire cotton towns, Rochdale had a labour force of long standing. By the year 1880, it could look back over more than half a century of experience in the operation of textile machinery, each task having its place in an involved process of production, from cleaning and combing to spinning, weaving and finishing. Indeed it is arguable that at this time the northern textile towns stood alone in the possession of such a large workforce, long accustomed to the needs of machine based manufacture, with all the skill and time discipline this required. Women consistently accounted for a major section of

the textile labour force employed in Rochdale, and in 1911, 13,592 women drew wages as compared to 10,224 men.[4]

The cotton workforce, like the population from which they were drawn, did not consist of a single, monolithic social group. In the mills of Rochdale, as in Bolton, Oldham, Bury, Manchester and Salford, the mule spinners had ascendancy with respect to status and rates of pay; but they were in a minority, and were increasingly so as the industry changed haltingly to ring spinning techniques seen to require less skill.[5] Below the mule spinners were the many workers such as piecers, ring spinners, and those involved in the preparatory stages of carding and warping. No universal dividing line existed in all mills between these processes and levels of skill; rather, there was a spectrum where one extreme was formed by the mule spinners, the others by general labourers and carders. As Turner has noted,

> Few occupations 'in the cotton' are intrinsically skilled in the sense that their adequate performance necessarily requires any long preliminary training. Most of the work is simple machine tending - feeding the machine with its material, removing its product, keeping it clean and free from obstruction. Beyond that, by far the most common manual task is that known as 'piecing' (twisting together the ends of fibre) which involves only an acquired trick of manipulative dexterity. This is not to say that there is no great difference between old hands at such jobs and new workers. Many operatives had an intuitive perception of the performance of their machine and material, an ability to anticipate and forestall defects.[6]

These capabilities are not a product of training but of experience, and where some jobs are considered more skilled, this is often because they involve maintenance or setting machinery, together with the supervision of workers, as in the case of the spinner or overlooker. Turner also holds that there existed in the textile trades, amongst others, a situation where there were varying degrees of expertise rather than 'marked natural divisions of skill'. He takes the building and engineering industries as examples of the latter situation, dependent on 'traditional apprenticeship systems'

which he sees as strategic to the maintenance of a hierarchical task demarcation.

> In that instance, the allocation of jobs has in effect been adapted to a classification of workers, rather than the classification of workers being based on the nature of the jobs they do. Of course such demarcations may originally have derived from the possession of uncommon knowledge by a minority: but unless the latter's advantage is preserved by some artificial restruction, industrial skills usually spread all too easily from the point of view of their possessors - or are segmented into elements that can be readily communicated, or even reproduced mechanically.[7]

The points made about artificial restruction - by apprenticeship or limitation of the intake of labour - and mechanisation or the segmentation of skilled tasks, are especially pertinent to the history of the textile trades. There is no apprenticeship, but there is instead a deliberate restriction of entry to the occupation on the part of all but two of the 19th century union amalgamations.[8] Conversely, the enhanced mechanisation and segmentation of tasks should be seen in the context of increasing problems concerning profitability and cost reduction. In an industry which from its earliest days had built into it the separation of various tasks, together with a high degree of mechanisation, the need to modify productive techniques and work organisation led to a continual underlying opposition between capital and labour which, on occasions, became openly combative.

These battles took place on a terrain strongly defined by a series of economic slumps which had an uneven, though generally deleterious effect in the various cotton producing areas of Lancashire. Before World War One, the British cotton industry was still expanding, but it did so to a lesser degree than its competitors. Within this situation of retarded growth - rather than the outright decline which was to follow - there was a discernable trade cycle. Robson, for instance, speaks of the depressions of 1878-

80, 1885-8, 1903-5, and the booms of 1882-3, 1898-1901 and 1905-7, together with movements of an even shorter term, related to changes in raw material prices and stocks.[9] In Rochdale in 1908 the effects of a trade slump, together with a lock-out lasting 7 weeks over the employers' wish to reduce wages, produced short-time working and a 5% reduction in wages. The year 1910 saw spinners particularly affected by unemployment, and to the extent that a local commentator saw the situation as 'worse than ever'[10] The whole of the British cotton trade took a downward turn after the prosperous years of the war; British exports took a smaller share of a reduced volume of world trade.[11] Even though there was a slowly expanding home market there was not enough improvement here to counteract a fall to a two-thirds (by volume) share of pre war exports by 1926-8. In the 1918-20 period the true seriousness of the situation had been masked by rocketing prices and profits within the context of inflation and civilian shortages.

The 1921 slump in cotton came against a background of over-capitalisation, high interest rates and share-payments, with firms changing hands at an alarming rate.[12] A chronic lack of balance between supply and demand hit weaving worst of all, but spinning was aided by the developing export trade in yarn; the growth of knitted man-made yarns also had an effect. Before the short respite seen in 1924 the effects on Rochdale (primarily a spinning town) were serious enough to see 4,500 unemployed with 1000 on short-time work throughout most of 1921. During June of that year some 24,000 people were on short-time, and two years later most of the local mills paid no dividends.[13] The rest of the decade saw an industry buffeted by bad trade and strife before the onset of a yet more profound period of recession. As Robson notes,

> The special structural depression under which the industry continued up to 1929 was strongly deepened in the 1930s by the great general business depression which affected all countries and all industries.[14]

In the year 1930 alone the number of cotton mills in Rochdale fell from 65 to 55,[15] and subsequent attempts to ameliorate the situation nationally by import duties plus a programme of redundancies for people and machines brought exports to only half the pre-depression level.[16]

After textiles, engineering was the second major industry in Rochdale.[17] The engineers shared some of the economic peaks and troughs of the textile industry; the 1912 boom, the dramatic increases in production brought about by the war in the 1916-19 period, together with the slumps of 1922 and 1930 affected both trades.[18] This of course was no accident; the engineering industry in Lancashire as a whole was, despite a trend towards some diversification, clearly tied to the production of textile machinery. As a Manchester University Survey pointed out as late as 1932, textile engineering accounted for more than a proportionate level of unemployment amongst engineers. However, the survey suggested that firms from Rochdale were able to offer a slightly more diverse range of skills and products because towns such as Blackburn, Accrington, Oldham and Manchester were hit worst when levels of unemployment started to rise in textile engineering.[19]

In the four decades before 1920, the industry nationally and locally enjoyed a continued growth measured in terms of people employed, with an increase in exports but also a recurrence of economic crisis and the ensuing problem of unemployment.[20] The trade fluctuations of the years 1884-7, 1893-4, 1903-4 and 1908-9 brought with them loss of jobs, short time, and wage cuts. The pre-war boom of 1913 was followed by a dislocation of markets and then by an

expansion in the wake of munitions and war work. The problems brought to the engineering union by the war were, though, merely intensified versions of pre-war ones.[21] The new entrants to the industry, the issues of piecework, the manning of machines and shop discipline, were all of particularly pressing importance at this time. As the months progressed and unemployment in the trade disappeared, a set of changes occurred including the employment of large numbers of women, the dilution of the labour force, quantity production in even the smallest firms, and the use of automatic and semi-automatic machinery on the German and U.S. plan. All this laid the basis for the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (A.S.E.) to become a union made up of all grades, from skilled to unskilled. In the period 1920-1939, the local engineering workforce was affected by unemployment, though not as severely as those workers concerned with cotton.[22]

By the 1930s a clear regional difference had emerged between the areas such as the North West and North East, as against the more prosperous engineering concerns of the Midlands and South East.[23] The latter areas had been quick to attract the newer industries such as those concerned with electrical equipment, cycles and motor cards, whilst only limited renewal existed elsewhere. As a Manchester Statistical Society report noted,

> In the North West region the engineering industry was declining during the nineteen thirties at a time when the industry nationally was expanding. This came about on the whole because of a fall in the home and overseas demand for textile machinery.[24]

The malaise in the textile section of engineering was, as the statement indicates, clearly linked to the problems existing for the cotton mills of Lancashire. The Lancashire Cotton Corporation, formed in 1929 by the merging of over 100 firms, had in the decade following reduced itself to half its original productive capacity.

Previously the excess of plant, together with its underutilisation due to large scale short time work, especially in spinning, stood as testimony to the inability of the industry to re-equip and reorganise itself in a period of shrinking world markets. Even by 1938 relatively little technological change had taken place, there were still fewer rings than mules and fewer automatic looms than power looms.[25] In America for instance, ring spinning had accounted for the majority of spindles installed by a proportion of roughly seven to one, as early as 1913; whereas in that year in the U.K. the mule spindles installed were four times more numerous than ring spindles.[26] These figures have a deeper significance: the mule was a machine worked by relatively skilled operatives, whereas the ring frame was operated by cheaper labour. As Lars Sandberg remarks

> The principal advantage of ring as opposed to mule spinning was that the former used unskilled or semi skilled female labour, whereas the latter used highly skilled males. In addition there were differences in the amounts of spinning preparatory and auxiliary labour used in the two methods.[27]

Although the use of the ring-frame in Lancashire was extremely limited, its effects as an agent of dilution of a once pre-eminently positioned skilled group cannot be ignored. The ring spinners together with the piecers had a far less prestigious and lucrative place in the industry.[28] They were also unable to form a lasting vehicle for trades union representation for their own particular needs and had to be content with a puppet-like role in a number of the mule spinners unions who saw fit to admit them.[29] Turner reasons that the closed nature of the mule spinners union led to an eventual (post Second World War) supremacy of the ring frame and the people who operated it.

> [The ring spinners]...remain one of the worst organised groups of cotton operatives though in recent years the ring frame has rapidly supplanted the mule as the principal spinning

> instrument. Here the spinners' exclusiveness has encouraged competition from badly paid female labour, and thus helped to cut off their own occupation.[30]

This supplanting of skilled work is discernable for Turner as a slow encroachment over nearly eighty years of industrial development in cotton; *i.e.* from the time that 'the installation of ring spinning plant became significant' in 1878, to the position he saw when writing in 1962.[31] But the Lancashire cotton mills were undergoing other equally significant, though less long term changes in technology and the organisation of labour. For instance, with the massive economic regrouping and plant reduction of the 1920s and 30s came important modifications in modes of working. High draft spinning was introduced mainly on ring spinning machines with the effect of increasing output per head.[32] High speed winding and warping was also extended in this period as was the more looms per worker system. The saving in weaving labour costs with the latter system was calculated at between 20% to 30%, whilst the saving in total costs was put at between 2% to 7%. In addition this system was noted for pushing up the earnings of the weaver involved.

These changes brought by employers to the technical and organisational aspect of work were not imposed without resistance, although the major struggles between capital and labour took place on the issues of pay and the length of the working week. In the cotton spinning towns of Rochdale, Oldham, Bury and Bolton, there were defeats and victories for the labour force; for example a resisted lockout in 1885, a successful strike for wage increases in 1918, the 48 hour week gained in 1919 after a short strike, and the defeats of 1910 and 1932 over wage rates and working hours.[33] The engineers, who were locally and nationally more effective in defending their stake in the definition of the work process, nonetheless had to fight battles over pay and conditions. The resulting campaigns gave birth

to the eight hours movement and led to the Engineering Trades lockout of 1897-1898.[34] The 1930s brought a very serious challenge to workers in the older types of engineering concerns prominent in the North West. Unlike the newer firms of the South East and Midlands, who largely pursued profitability by capital investment in machinery and the reorganisation of the work process, the Lancashire based concerns mainly resorted to cutting costs by forcing wage reductions and economies in the conditions of work.[35]

These developments in the textile and engineering industries were important because they helped shape the work process, but also determined how many hours were worked, and the level of wages, for the majority of wage earners in Rochdale.[36] Such factors, although important as indicators for a wider industrial and economic analysis, were also crucial in setting parameters around the time spent outside the workplace, in the private sphere. Within these limits, set with a particular tightness around the working class, those elements of a way of life associated with non-work time, took their various forms.

CHAPTER 2

LEISURE IN THE HOME

It is tempting to characterise the home as a place set apart from the demands of work: a leisurely retreat from a world of rhythms dictated by waged labour. Indeed, for the working class, home was where efforts were made to make life more bearable, in what could be an extremely harsh environment. The home can be defined justly as a place of freedom from work, but paradoxically, it was also a place of work. For the female members of a household, life in the home consisted of a series of obligations as well as leisure.[1] Their role involved the running of a home - the cleaning, washing, cooking and childcare - which though itself unpaid, maintained a labour force devoted to wage earning in factory, workshop and office. Time spent in the home cannot be equated with leisure time, because housework - unaided by the labour saving devices of the present day - drew heavily on human time and energy. Therefore it is important to trace the boundaries set around leisure in the home by domestic work, before attempting any assessment of the nature and quality of entertainment and recreation there. This demands a description of what chores were done, and when they were done, but also to whom they were apportioned.

Mothers took prime responsibility for the organisation of the domestic routine and for doing most of the housework. Female children were invariably drawn into the running of the home either to assist their mothers or to deputise for them. This was often seen to be as inevitable and natural as the limited role played by male members of the family. Of the 64 people interviewed 11 remembered that their fathers had done virtually no domestic work in the home.[2] The rest of the respondents spoke of work being done which can be classified

into two types. Firstly, fathers took on tasks which they were not asked to do, but which they associated with their role, such as bringing coal from the cellar, or helping with the shopping at weekends.[3] Secondly they would assist on a more impromptu basis, by helping to fold sheets on washday, by helping to cook, washing up, doing household repairs, and less frequently by decorating. The second type of involvement occurred in the majority of families.

In two families fathers took responsibility for the upkeep of allotments or henpens in an effort to supplement the food that was bought.[4] Such growing and tending took place in the back garden or on land situated no more than a few minutes walk from the house. Nonetheless, a strict task division seems to have been maintained, based on ideas of different territories of operation, within varying though ostensibly domestic forms of activity. These different areas of involvement were separated into distinct forms such as henpen versus kitchen, or garden versus home. Dissimilar times or rhythms seem to have operated at either side of these divides; for instance the daily or weekly tending of pen, allotment or garden stood in marked contrast to the continuing round of chores found in the home.

Gender was equally important in determining the domestic role of the children. Some 9 of the 64 interviewees could recall a situation in which it was virtually unknown for male children to do any domestic work.[5] At the other end of the scale, in 3 families boys would have regular responsibility for the weekly cleaning of the bedrooms they occupied, or the blackleading of the fireplace in the living room.[6] In one case each of the six children in a family which included male children, took turns of one hour each to care for the baby whilst mother was busy with other jobs.[7] Between these two poles of involvement were the commonplace chores requiring little skill and

time - such as bringing up coal, washing up, or running errands - done at the request or demand of the mother. Such chores were done at greatly varying intervals: whilst girls were involved with the running of the home at second or even first hand, boys, like their fathers tended to be brought into the sphere of domestic work only as a temporary addition at busy times.

All the women in the study had engaged in some kind of paid full-time work at some stage in their lives. Women made an important contribution to the income of their families, and went out to work before having children, and once these had reached elementary school age.[8] The domestic division of labour in the period of marriage before children were born seems to have retained its shape for most of the period afterwards. If the husband took part in domestic work before the children were born, he would tend to continue to do so afterwards; otherwise and conversely he would leave childcare and domestic work to his spouse. The most difficult time, especially for a working class woman, was when she had given birth to her children and then became faced with the need to supplement the family income by taking a paid job. This seems to have been more common in the period of short time working and depression in the 1920s and 1930s when one income was not enough. Against this background the demands of work in the home plus paid work (when available) could combine to make life very hard, even when work was shared by husband or children.[9] Yet, for the majority of working and middle class women in the sample, the time from the birth of the first child to school attendance of the last was one in which work was centred in the home. Here she was prime organiser and worker in the maintenance of her family.

Class differences were nonetheless important elements within

the overall pattern of the sexual division of labour in the home, although no simple deductions can be made. Of the 11 families where fathers did virtually no domestic work, 9 were working class and the remainder lower middle class.[10] But before hasty conclusions are formed, it should be noted that at the other end of the scale, two of the three fathers who took part most in the running of the parental home (that is, made bread or cooked regularly) were working class.[11] Male respondents who did no work in the home as boys, or said that their brothers did not, all came from working class backgrounds. Perhaps notably, the 3 families in which male children and youths did most work in the home (i.e. cleaned bedrooms weekly or had set chores on cleaning night) could be described as 'well off', or semi-skilled working class.[12] Of the sixteen respondents who came from middle class backgrounds, three had maids, nannies or cleaners who were paid to come in and look after the home; consequently far less pressure was placed on the mothers in these families to actually do the work.[13] At most, the main responsibility lay in dealing with the people employed. Similarly, the children in these homes tended to do less domestic work, but where housework was done, it was viewed as an exercise in moral and social education, rather than an act of necessity.

In most homes, chores were undertaken in accordance with a weekly routine. One woman recalled that as a child, Thursday night was the night on which she, her mother and brother prepared for the weekend with a series of cleaning chores.[14] These included polishing the brasses, blackleading the combined fireplace and oven, and rubbing the steel fender with emery paper to make it shine. Then the stone floor had to be mopped, the mats beaten and the furniture dusted.[15] Washday, which was Monday in her family, was remembered

for its drudgery,

> I think, when I look back,.....[it was]...really hard work. I mean Mothers used to have to get up earliest [on] Monday morning to light the fire under the boiler in the kitchen, because they were all coal, and then you'd be soaking them all night then boil them and ooh!.....dry them and damp them, starch 'em and iron with the irons which you hotted in front of the fire.[16]

Another woman said that all of the ten children in her family participated, to varying degrees, in the weekly round of cleaning and chores. Her elder sister would clean the brass 'irons' in front of the fire and on the wall, then generally clean the front room ready for the weekend. Another sister applied emery paper to the steel fender and blackleaded the fire grates, then cleaned the living room (swept and mopped the floor, beat the mats and dusted the furniture). Mrs Elliot, being third eldest had to clean the scullery, sweep the back yard and clean the toilet.

> Then we all had to go upstairs and do the bedrooms, you did your bedrooms at thursday night and the other things at Friday because my mother was that busy taking in washing and looking after us all.[17]

In Mrs Elliot's family her brothers brought the coal in, but father helped rarely. Mother did the family washing on Monday, but the girls had to help with the ironing. Washing was taken in and done in return for cash during the rest of the week, largely to pay for the family piano.

In most homes the weekly wash was done on Monday or Wednesday and the ironing the day after if the clothes had dried sufficiently. Thursdays or Fridays were taken up by preparation for the weekend, when the whole house would have been cleaned, and the whole family would have taken turns to have a bath in front of the fire. In families where mothers went out to full-time work these activities would be crowded into the weekend or any spare time during the week. A second cycle of activity coexisted with this weekly pattern; the

succession of meals prepared during the day were timed to coincide with the outgoings and homecomings of family members.

Free Time in the Home

The amount of time spent in the home depended primarily on the temporal demands of paid work done outside it. The nature of the time each individual spent in the home, was determined by the routines, and the division of labour, associated with housework. Those who did least housework - usually the male members of the household - had more time at their disposal. Periods of the day spent free from paid and domestic work were sometimes taken up by enjoyment outside the home, but for parents of both sexes, staying in was the most common course of events. Much of what transpired depended on the day of the week; weekday evenings were casual in character, whilst at weekends events became more formal. On a Saturday and Sunday, parents were more likely to go out, or entertain visitors, whilst children were sometimes treated to a tram ride to see a relative, or a trip to the cinema. In many working class homes a recurring shortage of money meant that during the week and at weekends only a limited range of pastimes were possible. Activities had to be cheap, or cost nothing, and fit into the time not taken up by domestic routine, but they also had to be compatible with the often cramped surroundings of the family living room.

Reading was a popular spare time activity in the home.[18] Reading matter included books, but also newspapers, magazines and children's comics. Books, mainly fictional in character, were borrowed from the borough library or from the Coop, or the many corner shops who loaned books. Classic works such as *Treasure Island, Tom Sawyer, A Tale of Two Cities,* and *Little Women* as well as lesser known detective, cow-

boy, travel and historical adventure stories, were amongst those read. Magazines such as *Woman's Own, Ideas* and *Answers*, plus newspapers such as the *Rochdale Observer,* the *Daily Despatch. Evening Chronicle, Daily Mail, Daily Herald* and *Manchester Guardian* were commonly taken. Reading was not the prerogative of one class and this fact is underlined by the range of publications available.

Music making featured strongly as a domestic pastime.[19] Music could be vocal or instrumental; it could be a solo performance, or take the form of a sing-song. The piano was popular, but the violin or accordian were also played. Keyboards were usually left to the women in the family, whilst the violin was the prerogative of the elder brother or father. For those who did not play or sing, the gramophone offered the first regular opportunity to hear music in the home. Before World War One few had gramophones, and record collections often consisted of no more than half a dozen records of the cylinder or of the disc type. As the 'twenties and 'thirties came the gramophone took on a new popularity, and record sales increased, helped by the dance boom. Recorded music was popular in middle and working class homes, where it filled time during the evening in the week, and at weekends.[20] However, in a few well-to-do homes, gramophone music came to be included in the less casual musical evenings previously devoted to the piano, voice or violin.

Games were a cheap and popular pastime in the home.[21] Board games such as draughts, ludo, snakes and ladders, housey-housey and chess were played mostly by youths and children; such games were often played when the weather was too inclement for children to play outside. Card games, including bragg, pontoon, rummie and bridge were also recalled. For a member of the middle class the ability to play bridge was a social asset, because apart from the church or

chapel, bridge parties offered major access to a circle of people from a similar background. Some families held parties as regularly as once a week.[22]

The majority of interviewees listened to the radio.[23] Early sets could be bought cheaply in kit form and assembled in the home. Radio listening could take up the whole of an evening, including mealtimes, or a short period devoted to a particular programme, such as a news bulletin, or favourites such as Tommy Hanley, Leslie Sarony, Henry Hall and his dance band, or mystery and suspense plays.

Sewing and handicrafts were frequently part of the activities taking place in the home.[24] Sewing was partly a necessary chore, but also a source of contentment. Women and girls did darning or patching, but also made children's clothes by salvaging worn garments cast off by adults in the family. There were also examples of intricate needlework, such as embroidery, but this was less common than crocheting, tatting, dressmaking and knitting. Handicrafts included the making of pegged rugs from old clothes, or corkwork.[25] These crafts were low cost activities, but they also produced a tangible result such as a piece of clothing or a rug for the floor. Behind such projects was a desire to improve the standard of life, often with very limited resources.

At the end of the week the pastimes of a more impromptu kind, were punctuated by those of a more organised, collective sort. Sunday mealtimes were important events in many homes. In even the poorer working class homes, great efforts were made to provide one good meal each week, whilst the better off working and middle classes had Sunday as their day for entertaining. One man remembered Sunday as the day on which visitors often came for a late afternoon meal.[26]

This meal was very much looked forward to, and consisted of cold meat, bread and butter, plus tinned fruit for pudding. A woman whose parents made a comfortable living from a chip shop, recalled as many as 17 or 18 relatives sitting down to tea on Sundays, whilst for those further up the social ladder family meals, churchgoing and music making combined to make a formal, yet very special day.[27] For people of all classes, Sunday posed a clear alternative to the working week; it was a day free of the demands of waged labour. However, for those who ran the home, the line of demarcation between work and leisure was less easily drawn.

CHAPTER 3

LEISURE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

After the home, a prime situation for leisure was the neighbourhood.[1] Although it may seem apt to see Rochdale in homogenous terms, it is clear the town consisted of a complex gathering of urban villages, each with their own social and economic characteristics. There are outward similarities at first sight; densely packed streets of terraced housing accounted for the major part of building stock. Yet these streets were part of a distinct community, with boundaries defined by roads, canals, industrial buildings and railway lines. Similarly, outside the town, a scattering of villages encircled the main concentration of population.[2]

Within these neighbourhoods there were other, yet smaller divisions of social organisation. These centred on the pub, church and shop, together with the school and workplace - but ties with the latter often cut across such localised groupings. Looking back on these neighbourhoods, the people who were interviewed tended to conceive of them in two ways. Firstly, there were those who talked about their area as being made up of poor or very poor working people. Secondly, people said their neighbourhood comprised individuals from more than one class background, and thirdly, there were those who spoke of living in a predominantly middle class location.[3]

Two people, Mrs Bennett and Mr Fielding, best represent the experiences of those living in poor areas.[4] Mrs Bennett remembered that all the people on her street were poor, indeed anyone with what she called a good wage would have been thought of as middle class. Rather than defining the degree to which people could be described as

poor in terms of earning power as she did, Mr Fielding registered his assessment in terms of the disagreements and rows between the occupants of his neighbourhood, which he saw as related to the bad housing. His parents had a house which looked onto a court where the lavatories for the development were situated. Arguments between families frequently erupted on the basis of whose turn it was to clean this shared sanitation.

The second category of responses came from people who remembered 'better off' or professional people living in their area. They spoke of superior housing; houses with gardens, as opposed to homes which were entered from the pavement. The division was not always this sharp though - *i.e.* between working class and professional people - self employed tradesmen, or skilled workers lived in the same terraced houses as mill operatives. Even people who were by local standards considered to be opulent, lived in their elaborate houses only yards from more humble ones. But despite their proximity, such people were clearly viewed as belonging to a different class. Respondents' parents sometimes viewed themselves as the social superiors of their immediate neighbours. Mr Tetlow offers an instance of this:

> My father was about the only tradesman there was in the fourteen houses. I think that's why he wore a pot hat. [He] used to think.....he were the boss of the lot... [5]

Certain middle class respondents however, described the community of their childhood as primarily lacking this social mix.[6] But in fact, their homes were a very short distance away from working class housing. Evidence of one of the respondents - Mr Barrington - indicates that street play took place with children from working as well as middle class backgrounds. This suggests that the geographical closeness of the two classes was indeed a factor in setting the basis

for leisure and play in this instance; but the statements of the other two middle class respondents show a total absence of any contact with children in the area who were outside their class. These different kinds of communities set the context for people's social activity outside the home, particularly contact with neighbours, play amongst children, church attendance visits to the local pub and in the second half of the period trips to the neighbourhood cinema.[7] Each home involved its own pattern of social activity for the family outside its four walls. But these activities tended to break down into particular types according to age, sex, and occasionally, instances which cut across these categories.

Mothers

All of the respondents from a working class background pointed to the fact that the mother was the most important figure in the workings of the home. She was organiser and executor of all the major tasks involved with keeping individuals in her family fed and clothed. On occasions she would have to add to her domestic work by taking a part-time job outside the home, such as cleaning or working behind the bar in a pub.[8] However, mothers did have a distinct social life in some instances, notwithstanding the fact that all the evidence shows that their independent social activity was very limited. A substantial proportion (16 out of 54)[9] left the home for activity other than shopping or work only once or twice a year. The overwhelming reason for such severe limitations on the movement of the mothers was preoccupation with the rearing of the family, and sometimes this was compounded by severe hardship.[10] On the other hand the great majority (38 out of 54) of the women concerned were

indeed able to make time for leisure outside the home though the nature of it would vary depending on the domestic circumstances and finance. The most common outdoor leisure for the mother was church or chapel; in some cases this was the only form of such leisure. The nature of involvement with the church varied. Some women merely attended the church services with their family or their friends, whilst others confined themselves to whist drives, concerts, sewing circles or the Mothers Union. The great majority of these women however, combined the two aspects of church-centred activity in with regular weekly routines.

Apart from the Church, the most significant extra-domestic activity for mothers tended to be visiting, or being visited by relatives and friends. Social calls to relatives were remembered as a frequent event led and organised by the mother. Usually this took place on Sunday, for this was the day least affected by work done outside the home. There were other forms of leisure which mothers enjoyed such as window shopping in town, going to the music hall or theatre (usually with her children or husband), to the cinema, walking and even the pub.[11] Some of the mothers belonged to non-religious social clubs (*e.g.* the Coop Women's Guild and Clarion organisations).[12] Involvement with these was usually in the company of friends, rather than of family members, and such attendances together with a few instances of chapel going seem to have been the only ones undertaken by mothers as individuals rather than as parents.

A further context for the mother's leisure was her contact with neighbours. Half of the respondents spoke of only a limited relationship between neighbours, whilst the rest spoke of a more friendly situation which included leisure activities shared between whole families.[13] In the case of both categories however, the contacts were instigated and promoted by the mother, for this was considered

solely her sphere to the extent that in several families the husband actually forbad women from the neighbourhood to enter the house whilst he was there. The people who recalled a very limited relationship, such as contact confined to a chat over the yard wall, or merely an acknowledgement in the street, came mostly from poorer working class backgrounds. There seems to have been a fear of developing a relationship with those who lived nearby lest they should prove to be constant borrowers of food or money. In some of the poorer areas liaison was discouraged because people would want to distance themselves from the personal rancour and feuding which sometimes existed both within and between families. For these respondents a good neighbour was one who was polite when met in the street, but would avoid frequent visits to the homes of others and refrain from the practice of borrowing. Yet on the other hand they should be reliable enough to lend help when illness or death struck. When mothers worked all day outside the home this could further lessen the chance of any friendly relationship between neighbours. And another factor setting limits on such development was a marked desire to be considered 'a cut above the rest' exhibited by some of the parents. For instance Mr Warburton, who came from a working-class area, but whose parents were striving to make their small business succeed, recalled a cool relationship, with the other people on the street,

> They were never er.....encouraged to be too neighbourly, but beyond that they were people you could rely on, y'know. [14]

For those who enjoyed a less limited relationship notions of what characterised a good neighbour went beyond a preoccupation with dependability. Socialising was frequent and casual, consisting of a cup of tea and a chat, yet even this may not have met with the approval of the father. Mothers frequently chatted on the doorstep

whilst keeping watch over younger children at play in the street. Sometimes this could develop into further contact between the families. Gatherings in the home, and parties in the street were remembered by 5 of the respondents. Here whole families were involved rather than contact being limited to mothers. However, it is important to point out that all but one of these people came from prosperous middle class or better off working class backgrounds. As Robert Roberts points out in his record of Edwardian Salford, shared poverty and geographical proximity are not necessarily the makings of a good, neighbourly relationship.[15]

Fathers

Some 24 of the respondents recalled the public house as the prime social centre for their fathers.[16] However, such topics have to be treated with care because the interviewees and their parents lived in a time when drink could be a very controversial subject. For some the sense of guilt once attached to drinking may still exercise enough power to obliterate, cloud, or re-order the memories of it. The first half of the period 1880-1939 was one in which the drink question was given a vociferous airing by such institutions as the Band of Hope and Temperance Societies. As will be seen in the chapter on the church, contact with Sunday School and related temperance movements was an early introduction to the arguments, which few children missed, against drink. Speeches by celebrities from the temperance movements were a regular attraction for those frequenting the Town Hall Square on a Sunday evening. And although the words and sentiments were not always received with the seriousness craved for by the speaker, individual statements such as 'What will buy beer will buy bread' seem to have meant enough to have been

recalled by a number of interviewees. Certainly, the moralising and proselytizing aspect of the temperance gospel seems to have met with very little serious response. But on the other hand statements about hardship caused by drink did register if coupled in terms commensurate with every day survival and welfare.

It is not surprising in the light of this that many respondents showed hesitance or were reserved when talking about fathers' drinking. This was more especially the case in poorer homes where a father's drinking might be considered to be undermining a family's material wellbeing. There is evidence, admittedly in only two cases, of severe hardship thought to have been caused by the drinking habits of the father. This aside, it was generally the case that money for drink came from money not earmarked for essential spending.

For these fathers, drinking tended to have a regular routine, often Saturday or perhaps Sunday night, or even a nighly trip to the pub or club. Sometimes however, the father placed stringent limitations on the amount of drink he allowed himself.[17] In other cases drinking was sporadic or infrequent. Of the 24 cases where fathers visited pubs, only three could be described as middle or lower-middle class. And in one of these three cases, visits were for the discussion of business.[18]

The most frequented institution after the pub was the church or chapel.[19] One-quarter of the fathers attended, usually with their families or wives, and in three cases involvement extended to social events such as concerts, bowling, billiards and whist. It is therefore fair to point out that in comparison with the mothers there is relatively little individual social involvement with church, though this should be seen as a corollary of the wider set of alternatives open to the father. The pub was of prime importance, but spectator

sport and active involvement with similar pastimes, was a significant factor in a number of cases. For instance three people recalled particular interest being shown in football, rugby and cricket, but from the spectators' viewpoint only.[20] In addition participation of the fathers included cycling, shooting and bowling, all three with the help of a local club. Whippet and pigeon racing and an old game called Kner and Spell were further pastimes but had few adherents.

Club-based institutions formed the basis for those fathers involved with brass bands and also voluntary organisations such as the Red Cross Society. Political groupings such as the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.), trades unions and Liberal Clubs also accounted for a few instances, although in the latter case contact was on a purely purveyor-client basis rather than on that of active participation.[21] Yet these club or group-based activities were mentioned in only a handful of cases, and although extremely important for the individual involved, they appear to have been highly peripheral to the most popular venues for leisure activity, which were, as already outlined, the pub or church.

A number of points can be drawn from the comparison of information on the father's interests outside the home with that about the mother. Firstly, the mother went out less than the father. Almost a third of the mothers were limited to the home, whilst only two of the fathers were so confined.[22] This of course reflects a deeper involvement with the running of the home on the part of the mother; as noted above, such concerns as feeding, clothing and otherwise maintaining the family, left little time and energy for going out for leisure activity. Money was also a factor; for some mothers it was out of the question to spend money on a drink at the local pub, or a night at the music hall or cinema. Any financial reserves were put to use on items of sustenance for children or male breadwinner. Lack

of money over a long period, whilst children in the family were still at school, could mean that the mother would consistently neglect her own needs to the extent that she would have no clothes suitable for wear on social occasions outside the house.[23] But in all cases the domestic sphere exerted limits which defined the threshold for the mother's leisure activity. In each family a particular combination of human practice and financial constraint located this 'base-line'.

Secondly, the church in the case of the mother, and the pub in the case of the father, owed their popularity to a number of factors. The church had the advantage of being relatively versatile in the range of activity it could offer. Events were attended in family groups, or individuals would go because of a particular interest of their own.[24] It is this double aspect of such contact which laid the grounds for the popularity of the church with the mother. Geographical proximity was also an important factor. However, the single most important feature seems to have been the comparatively modest financial demands it made on the family purse. Collections were made, but it was not necessary to contribute financially before being allowed inside. The pub was for the father, the most geographically accessible leisure institution, but unlike the church it was largely devoid of family patronage. Instead it was an adult male centred resort for those whose lives had relatively clear demarcation between periods of work and leisure in contrast to the relative homogeneity of the maternal experience in the home.[25] As mentioned above, pub-attendance was considered by the mother as an expendable pastime in cases where financial restrictions appeared. Equally, the father often limited the number of visits or his intake of drink, although such a commodity was potentially if not actually more expensive than all of the church-based events.

Thirdly, differences and similarities exist in the activities of individuals when viewed in terms of class. For instance the majority of the fathers went out regularly other than to go to work.[26] Only two men rarely if ever went out, and in both cases this was because they were deeply involved in the running of their own businesses.[27] This largely male prerogative for leisure outside the home extended across all class boundaries. The most popular male resort - the pub - attracted both working and middle class fathers, but those from the former group used it most.[28] In every single instance save one, the children of the family attended church or Sunday School, and in this way they represented the core of such contact within every family.[29] After the children the mother was the most likely participant, regardless of her class background. And, as already pointed out, class differences are traceable in the way the mother budgeted financially for her leisure time. The poorer working class respondents were the ones who recalled the skimping and sacrifices made in this area.

Children

Just as sustained and severe financial limitations could restrict the mother's leisure, similar effects are apparent in the experience of the younger members of the family. Nearly a quarter of the respondents spoke of the effects of death, illness, low income or unemployment during their childhood.[30] Four of these remembered that their families received assistance from the Guardians.[31] In the fifteen cases where hardship was experienced recollections of the difficulties were couched in terms of the deprivation the family had to endure. For instance one person spoke of his family claiming assistance from the Guardians, whilst his mother worked every day as

a cleaner, as well as spending every spare minute mending and re-mending clothes. His mother could allow him no spending money so that activity consisted of play in the area around the home, punctuated by an occasional visit to the cinema. This special event was paid for by collecting jam jars from his neighbours and claiming the few pence which the corner shop gave for each small container.

> If you got 2d you were alright for Saturday afternoon matinee. Ha'penny for a comic as you went in at door, 1d admission and ha'penny mint rock when you got in. [32]

Mr Black was able to adapt to this potentially bleak situation by such means, but the circumstances which were at the root of his position were not modified until his mother remarried and he himself began work as a half-timer in the mill at the age of 12. From then on, visits to the cinema occurred regularly, he attended football matches occasionally, and was able to save enough money to have his first holiday.[33] The case of Mr Black is representative of those enduring hardship, in the sense that his family suffered the incapacity and finally the loss of the main breadwinner at a time before the children were working.[34] Generally such exigencies forced the mother to go out to work and seek assistance from the Guardians. In turn, this set pressures to bear on all kinds of non-essential commodities which included those childhood leisure forms which had to be paid for.

Unemployment, short-time, or 'lay-offs' also accounted for difficulties, but they were short lived in comparison with the chronic long term restrictions mentioned above. Mr Tetlow illustrates the sort of situation where market forces directly affected the family income.[35] His father was often temporarily out of work when his employers, a painting and decorating firm, had no custom. This meant that the family had severe problems when trying

to adapt to the violent fluctuations in finance which resulted. The case of Mrs Ferguson offers another example. Her father was unemployed for a period during the early 1930s which meant that she had to do without the weekly 'spence' or allowance, usually given to her by her parents.[36] Certainly, such difficulties did beset each of the above respondents with severe limitations where leisure activities that had to be paid for were concerned. In such circumstances a whole series of games and pastimes, which did not entail money, were the major resort. At the other extreme were individuals such as Mr Barrington and Mrs Marshall who were rarely short of money as children.[37]

For the majority of respondents however, childhood comprised a mixture of activity involving financial outlay, together with that which did not. Interviewees spoke of a wide range of pastimes which centred on the neighbourhood and included games, entertainments and pursuits. Though diverse, these activities can be grouped under three main headings: outdoor play, organisations (scouts, girl guides and boys brigades) and commercial institutions such as the cinema.

Outdoor play included sport organised by the children themselves such as football, cricket and rugby. Also there were group games and pastimes including peggy, hop-scotch, skipping, kick-out-can, duck-stone and hide-and-seek. Finally, there were the pastimes which were less structured such as fantasy play (*i.e.* Cowboys and Indians), walking with a group of friends, playing on swings (makeshift or otherwise), watching or helping at the local farm and pranks and mischief (*i.e.* knock-a-door run).

All but two of the respondents spent most of their free time playing outside the home, a factor which indicates the primacy of such

pastimes within the experiences of childhood.[38] Interviewees spoke of taking for granted the fact that they would come home from school and play in the neighbourhood with friends until the family meal was ready.[39] After the meal, and if weather permitted, it was usual for children to play outside until seven, eight or even nine o'clock, depending on their age and the wishes of the parents. Supervision by the latter took various forms, the most common being stipulations about the time when the young, especially the girls, had to be in. A small percentage of the parents were very strict about remaining within a short distance of the house and also about the kind of cohorts their offspring had. Of the two individuals limited to play in the home one came from a lower middle class family who lived in a rough area, and the other from a prosperous manufacturing family with a large house in a well appointed area of the town. The former had parents who did not want her to mix with what they saw as the rougher children in the area, whilst the latter was only allowed to play in the garden with friends from her private school.[40] Such segregation took place to a slightly lesser degree in a handful of homes, and it is perhaps significant that each were either skilled working or middle class.[41]

Involvement in play outside the home was ordered in terms of gender. As in the home, a series of rigid sexual distinctions existed, but at play they took shape in a male preponderance in physically based pastimes. Games, such as football and cricket were played by boys only. For two-thirds of the male respondents this was a regular pastime.[42] Yet as far as the girls were concerned, sport in the vicinity of the home was a rare occurrence. Only four girls spoke of involvement, and this seems to have been as a corollary of the interest in rounders fostered at school. Swimming, athletics and

gymnastics were less affected by gender separation, there being an equal body of support from both boys and girls. Activities were supervised and took place within an institution with supervision, set times for activity, and at least in the case of swimming, an entrance fee.

As far as group games like hide and seek were concerned, a number of sexual divisions were maintained. Boys played peggy, jiggy, marbles and play-ups; girls played skipping, hop scotch and whip and top. In some cases a game would be a vehicle for the participation of both sexes: hide and seek, trinnell, kick-out-can and duckstone were such games. Hoops and sticks referred to as 'bullies' were also an item of play for both sexes, but it was essential that boys had theirs made out of iron, whilst girls had wooden ones.[43]

Both sexes were involved in the less structured pastimes. These included: playing cowboys and Indians, playing shop, building 'tents' with clothes-horse and sheet, acting-out various adventures seen in the cinema, going for walks, and improvised picnics of jam and bread.[44] For those who lived near farming land, watching trail hunts, looking on at milking time or helping with the haymaking were frequent pastimes.[45] Pranks and mischief such as knock-a-door run or the placing of tacks and excrement on door latches were also recalled.[46] These themes were developed in various ways. String or thread was used to pull the door knocker from a (relatively) safe distance, or fine rope was used to tie together all the door handles on a row of houses so that when the children knocked there was much tugging and swearing. Another variation was to knock on a door having placed a parcel on the pavement; the package would then be pulled away with the aid of black cotton or thread. Windows would be

tapped with one end of a length of thread with a button which was pinned to the frame; loud and eerie noises would be produced by burning cotton waste at the base of a drain pipe.

Sexual and seasonal differences fused in a way which affected play. Boys played cricket or football according to the seasons; girls took up one of a number of pastimes according to the time of year. As one woman put it,

> ...there was a time and a place for everything, there were certain periods when you er...it was skipping rope time and a certain period when you had a whip and top, and there was a certain period when you had a bowl [hoop] and a stick. [47]

Another woman respondent remembered that whips and tops were played with at Easter and skipping ropes came into use in autumn. Knock-a-door-run was considered safe only when the winter months, with their dark evenings came.[48]

Although the games and pastimes of both sexes required space, the area needed to play a game of football or cricket was far more than that needed for hop-scotch or skipping. The latter two could be played on the pavement, whereas football called for the width of a street, or a large portion of a common. Of those boys who played football, roughly half played only in the neighbourhood, and the other half supplemented this with involvement with school or Sunday School teams. The relatively formal nature of a Sunday School or elementary school game, played on a pitch commandeered for that purpose, contrasts with the impromptu games for 'all comers' which took place in the neighbourhood.

The playing of neighbourhood football was not, however, without its detractions. There were problems attached to playing on a common or - if lucky enough to live on the outskirts of the town - a suitably flat field. For instance once darkness closed in the game

had to be stopped and precious playing time foregone. Farmers were often ill-disposed to children who played on their land and would punish those who were caught.[49] Streets with gas lighting were at a premium therefore, for those older children who wanted to play after a certain hour. Yet even this venue could be hazardous, because a policeman would sometimes include the 'cobbled pitch' in his beat. A swipe with his cape was a frequent punishment for those who habitually played football beneath the gas lights.[50] On other occasions legal actions were taken; during sporadic bursts of police activity between 1895 and 1908, numbers of boys were charged with playing football on a public street and therefore 'obstructing traffic'. Fines for the guilty ones ranged around the 1/- mark.[51] Occupants could also be unequivocal about their opposition to their street being turned into a football pitch, together with the resulting hubbub. Damage though was seldom a problem; rarely was a window pane broken. Cricket, on the other hand, had the advantage of being a game played in summer, and the need to play on the street was largely absent. Yet if a window was broken and the culprit caught, he would have to pay for the repair with his pocket money, sometimes over several weeks.[52]

The location for both mischief and games such as football, seems to have been within a few streets of the home. Girls were particularly used to remaining only a few minutes' walk away, which could have been quite hazardous for those involved in knock-a-door-run and other pranks. If caught by a neighbour, their reprisal would often be added to by further punishment by the parent.[53] Equally, the boys tended to remain within a few streets of their own, when involving themselves in mischief. They too hoped that the darkness essential for such activity would hide their identity. Those who played football under the glow of the gas lamps, however, seemed to

have attempted to avoid trouble by playing on streets where the players would be unknown to residents. One piece of written evidence shows that out of seven boys arrested for playing football in the street on two separate occasions none were playing on their home street.[54] Yet all the boys, save one, came from addresses within a quarter of a mile radius of the offence.[55] This evidence suggests that this mild precaution could have been a widespread habit, at least during what was a particularly vigorous period for this aspect of policing policy during the last half decade of the 19th century. Institutions such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and Boys Brigade offered a contrast to the indigenous forms of activity mentioned above. Half of the respondents were at some stage members of such groupings, whose staple format included hierarchical structures of command, and in some cases quite militaristic preoccupations.[56] Activities for the Boys Brigade or Boys Life Brigade centred on marching and drilling, usually to the accompaniment of a drum and bugle band.[57] Periods of camping in places such as Hebden Bridge, and Woodliegh, near Stockport, also featured, but the main emphasis lay in the more mundane pastimes of music and marching practice, at the neighbourhood church or chapel. The parades which were so common before the first world war became almost extinct in the decade or so following armistice. As one of the respondents involved recalled, the war dulled the palates of those boys who had once so coveted the trappings of uniform, drum and bugle which accompanied the brigade.

The Boy Scout movement had its meeting places in both Anglican and non conformist churches, the activities offered varying as much as the venue. In one case a respondent recalled that scouting, for him and his troop, consisted of marching from the hall to a field to play football every Saturday afternoon.[58] In other instances there

were regular meetings for instruction and team games together with an occasional camp in the surrounding countryside.[59] Less often, a trip as far afield as the Isle of Man was organised.[60] The Girl Guides offered similar activities to those of the Boy Scouts; weekly activities plus less frequently held weekend camps.[61]

A number of individuals were involved with similar institutions, such as the Girls Friendly Society, the ILP, the Clarion Clubs and the local Harriers.[62] Though compared to the Scouts, Guides and Boys Brigades they were a series of minority interests. The town gymnasium with club nights for particular groups, drew six of the interviewees to weekly supervised activity. The events were alternately restricted to males or females, and this could be why the latter outnumbered the former. Usually, in physical activity there was a preponderance of boys.

Although the Scouts, Guides and Brigades bore certain outward similarities such as uniform, hierarchical structure and kinds of activity, as far as membership of each body was concerned, class differences prevailed. All of the boys in the Boys Brigade or Boys Life Brigade came from working class backgrounds, whereas the people who had been scouts were from working and lower middle/middle class backgrounds in equal proportion. Of the girls who had been Guides, there was again an equal split between classes. These differences seem to have partly stemmed from the fact that scouts or guides uniforms were expensive to purchase. For instance, Mr Tetlow, a member of the Scouts during the first world war, said that his uniform of jersey, trousers and hat had cost 5/-, and a camping trip into the local countryside had cost a further 5/-.[63] At that time these kinds of outlay were a quite substantial drain on resources. Mr Allwork who was also a Scout had a uniform of green shirt, cap, pants and socks, plus black shoes which were preferred by the scoutmaster. He recalled that no one went in clogs - then the most ubiquitous footwear - for fear of being stigmatised.[64] The Scouts were not the only organisation to demand

financial outlay; it was sometimes the case that the Boys Brigade took contributions in order to maintain itself. For instance, Mr Knight recalled each boy in his troop having to pay 3d, 6d or 1/- a week to help save up for the instruments needed to form a band. However, his uniform was given to him free of any charge. In the town as a whole though, the Brigades were most prevalent in the poorer working class areas. And in the case of two troops, one Anglican based, the other Catholic, membership was drawn from one of the most notorious localities which was known as 'The Mount'.[65]

Each of these institutions relied to some degree on the patronage of firms or individuals. This could take the form of a troop set up solely by a company for the children of its employees and its younger workers. Brights cotton mill had their own girl guide troop.[66] It could also take the form of support by a wealthy family within the context of a church or chapel congregation.[67] One respondent recalled his membership of a chapel based Boys Life Brigade. The members of a prosperous family who owned a building firm were guiding personalities both in the chapel and the brigade. In this institution most of the costs were directly or indirectly borne by these individuals. Mr Hall remembers attending week-long camps and paying only a fraction of what the cost of the trip would have been. The Howarth family also made a truck available for the transport of tents and equipment. Another interviewee recalled subsidised trips to camp in Bridlington with his Brigade,[68] whilst Mrs Riley, a member of the Brights Mill Guides spoke of picnics and teas given free of charge.

Within the range of organisations based in the neighbourhood, the Church seems to have been pre-eminent. It featured in all interviews (save one) in the form of worship and social gatherings.[69]

These gatherings consisted of concerts, tea parties, prizegivings, lantern shows, discussion groups, classes and clubs. Yearly events included anniversaries, pantomimes, Whit walks and Field Days, day trips and short holidays. Usually half of the events were staged to raise finance for the fabric of the church, but money had also to be made for the clubs and the social occasions such as the Whit Friday Field. As in the case of the mother, the church had the advantage of accessibility and relatively low levels of outlay were associated with it. Although collections were often made at Sunday School and adult services, no entry fee as such existed. There are examples of fees being asked, such as a ha'penny for entry to a slide show, or a 3d fee for a ticket to a children's tea party; but generally such events were financed by the bazaars and sales of work which were so much of a feature of the churches before world war one.[70]

Organisations closely related to the Church, such as the Socialist Sunday School, the Rechabites and the Band of Hope, added to the opportunities offered by the denominations. In the case of the Socialist Sunday School commitment made up for the fact that only one existed in Rochdale for any period of time.[71] Activities included anniversaries and concerts, as well as weekend trips to a moorland house owned by the School. Equally, the Rechabites - a non denominational temperance body - were a regular source of free or at least cheap entertainment for children. Gatherings, held on Church premises on a weekly basis had lantern slides and recitations about the perils of drink.[72] Band of Hope meetings similarly dealt, often in lurid detail, with the problems that were attached to alcohol.[73]

All this contrasts with the situation operating in the case of the children and their contact with the cinema. If the church offered the staple leisure diet or the substitute for better things, then the

cinema offered the most glamorous and sought after commodity. Although over one-third of the respondents had been to the cinema regularly before they had started earning, many had to wait until they had a job before they could consider the outlay of 1d, 2d or 3d for a seat. Money was the all important deciding factor here.

Most childhood leisure centred on the home and neighbourhood. The patterns of play existed alongside the rhythms set up by events such as mealtimes and bedtime in the home. These, in turn, took their basis from the time spans involved with the members of the family who went out to work, as well as the patterns set by school attendance. Institutions such as the Sunday Schools, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and Boys Brigade provided activity which entailed a fee, yet in many cases the poorer members were allowed to take part without making any financial contribution. Those children who went to the cinema, or bought comics were entering into a commercial relationship with the person who sold them a service or a commodity. This contrasted with the sphere of play in the neighbourhood and home in that it was exclusive of those who had no money to buy a ticket. Here the relatively sheltered setting of the neighbourhood and family no longer applied. The early working life of each of the interviewees set new limits around leisure in which forms of enjoyment became increasingly dependent on commercial relations. It is this phase that is the first subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

YOUTH, WORK, MARRIAGE AND LEISURE

Of the periods of major change in the lives of the interviewees, two in particular had important repercussions. The first was the move from school to work, the second marriage. On leaving school changes occurred in the two most important determining factors for leisure, namely, real income and the number of hours worked. Each individual on starting paid work, saw a decrease in leisure or non-work time, whilst nonetheless enjoying an increase in financial capability.[1] However, this situation was modified firstly by the widespread practice of giving a significant proportion of wages earned to the family, but also by parental control over times for coming home, and the places that were frequented by the youths.[2] Many people remained single, but for those who married, the reduction in the amount of disposable income associated with financing a home, helped to set new patterns of leisure which were much more home centred than those existing in the early years of work. As children were born, the demands made by childcare on money and time reinforced these new priorities.

Starting Paid Work

At first glance the move from school to work appears to have entailed a dramatic increase in income for each of the respondents. From a situation where pocket money (if it was given) was calculated to the nearest penny, and rarely exceeded one shilling, to one where weekly wages were calculated in pounds and shillings, was indeed a great leap. Yet all but two of the respondents spoke of giving up a sizeable proportion of their earnings.[3] On payday the wage-packet

could be considered the property of the earner only after a portion had been removed by the parents. The importance of this practice, often referred to as 'tipping up' rests both in its frequent occurrence and the almost unquestioning acceptance of it as a major feature of the family economy. In the words of one of the male respondents,

> There was an unwritten rule - *you took your wage home* - it wasn't in a packet, it was in a tin can and tipped into your hand like that. And you gave it to your mother and if it were eighteen bob you got eighteen pence. [4] (His emphasis.)

A quarter of the people interviewed spoke of giving all but a penny in the shilling back to their parents each week.[5] The rest recalled being given a set sum out of their wage, but this was calculated without the strict one-twelfth formula as a guide. However, over three-quarters of the sample received between one-twelfth and one-tenth of their wage. The bulk of the wage kept by parents was not only used in the general financing of the home, it was also put to the feeding and clothing of the earner to standards above those accepted before work began. In effect this arrangement meant that the part of the wage returned to the youth was available for spending in areas quite distinct from such necessities. The demarcation between resources to be spent on basic needs and on entertainment and enjoyment therefore could not have been more pronounced, although in some instances responsibility for clothing was left with the individual.

Spending patterns varied in the sense that some young people put emphasis on saving some of their money for a holiday or for what was called the 'bottom drawer', whilst the majority spent all that was at their disposal in the week following pay-day.[6] For instance, Mrs Barker who received 1d in the 1/- and earned 16/- at the age of 18

in 1918, spent her money on 'pop', toffee and the cinema.[7] Yet her younger sister Mrs Gilbert who earned a similar amount, spent as little as possible preferring to save for a yearly summer holiday, as she had done since her mid-teens. This practice stopped only when Mrs Gilbert began courting, which entailed weekly trips to the cinema. Mrs Scott, who earned 23/- at age 18 in 1928, was given 1/6 pocket money out of which she bought stockings and paid for visits to the cinema and dancehall. Mr Tetlow who at a similar age was earning 18/- (1921) paid for a regular weekly visit to the cinema. He was usually accompanied by between three and a dozen of his friends who would also join in buying some chips or penny chocolate bars. A special treat was a trip to town on a Saturday afternoon, when he and his friends would have a cup of coffee and a piece of cake in a cafe on the main shopping street. Mr Knight spent his allowance of 2/6d out of 27/- (at age 20 in 1932) on visits to the pictures, dancing and on trips to the pub. Like Mrs Gilbert, a sixth interviewee recalled relatively frugal spare time habits. At the age of 17 in 1906, he was earning as much as 11/- per week, yet after his fee for lodging was deducted he had little more than 1/- to spend. This went mainly on cigarettes, but there was an occasional visit to the music hall or cinema.

These six examples indicate broadly typical patterns of spending, including the different priorities each gender had. In the case of the young women, saving for a holiday, or buying a pair of stockings, gloves or hair ribbons, but also toffee and chocolate accounted for much of their money. The young men sometimes spent their money on cigarettes, or in their later teens on drinking. Newer leisure forms such as the cinema and dance hall, however, attracted both sexes.

The middle and lower-middle class incomes and allowances were

generally larger than those of the working class. Secondly, middle class respondents were more likely to pay 'board' to their parents on the basis that they would be able to buy their own clothes, and finance travel to and from work out of their own money.[8] In these cases where board was paid to parents, leaving a good deal of freedom as to how the remainder would be spent, interviewees spoke in terms of it teaching them to manage their money. This they felt helped them to prepare for the running of their own home in later life. Two of the working class women were given an increased portion of their wage as they reached their late teens, in order to buy their own clothes, rather than simply financing their entertainment and social life.[9] Such occurrences were rare and seem to have been connected with the earning power of these two women which was considerable during the years before their marriage. Personal expenditure could depend on the wage of the young individual, but the economic fortunes of the family as a whole could be equally important. The remarks made by two working class women, Mrs Scott and Mrs Seddon, indicate how much the demands made on a young earner by a poor family could limit leisure. When times were particularly bad the two women got no money back from their parents, just as in their childhood regular pocket money had been out of the question. However, amongst the more prosperous working and lower-middle class, a handful of interviewees recalled having regular amounts of money available for personal expenditure. But as well as this they usually had access to further sums for a specific outing, should they have asked their parents.[10] The bulk of respondents, however, fell into a category set between these two poles of experience, where there was neither flexibility nor the possibility of disappointment. They could look forward each week to a fixed portion of their wage, for it was assumed both that parents

had first claim on the wage and also that those who worked should be allowed a portion of their earnings for themselves.

Less tangible than these habits are the ways in which the effects of changes in earning power were perceived by the individuals. One-third of the respondents thought that they experienced little change in their spare time activity once involved in full-time work, whilst the rest recalled change seen in terms which can be placed under three interrelated headings. These are parental control, time, and money/status.[11] Parental control was relaxed to the extent that with the onset of full-time work they were able to stay up longer in the evenings, or stay out until a later hour.[12] Changes in the distribution of time, between work and non-work, were also seen as important consequences of the onset of employment. The working day in the textile mills of Rochdale started at 6 a.m. and lasted until 5.30 p.m. until well after world war one. The 1920s saw a reduction in hours worked both as a result of short-time working, and as a result of new time agreements which reduced the factory day to a 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. period. In both instances the time spent each day at work was far greater than that taken up by school, the obvious result being less time for leisure, despite increased income. Mrs Parkin, who went out rather less than her contemporaries, nonetheless illustrates a common attitude amongst those who recollect the relationship of leisure and work during their youth:

> Then when you got working you see you worked until half-past five, and by the time you came home and had your tea, washed and changed you, well, very often if you did go... some did go out to the pictures perhaps. [13]

Nightschool, which was attended by nearly a quarter of the interviewees could take up as many as three nights a week plus time spent on homework. This was considered to be activity far more akin

to work than to leisure, because there was usually a connection with vocational improvement, which would eventually be rewarded financially. Indeed, two people engaged in full-time higher education (one at university, the other at a teacher training college) stressed the importance they attached to completing the work they had been given before anything else could be considered.[14]

The redefinition of time boundaries following the start of paid work, could depend on the demands of domestic work. Most of the young women (particularly those of the working class) were still expected to take a share of the burden of housework in the parental home, even though they had full-time jobs. Such work had to be done before going out in the evening, thus further reducing the amount of time available for entertainment and socialising, especially during the week. For the female youths and young adults,much time had to be allocated to the rhythms and chores of the home, which though not considered the same as paid (factory or office) work, were also quite distinct from going out or otherwise spending time as one wished.

Those interviewees who spoke of change predominantly in terms of earning power, recalled the transformation in the form of new aspirations for consumption. These were directed towards a seaside holiday, the cinema, dance hall, pub or football match, which were either considered for the first time, or became possible on a regular basis.[15] A few people stated explicitly that this change in earning power and its corollaries, brought shifts in their status, both with family and many friends. An example of this is to be found in the remarks made by Mr Warburton:

> When you were fourteen and you began work you were a man then, there was no...you put away childish things then, you started thinking of the girls and football teams and one thing and another. [16]

Two further examples, one from a woman, the other from a man, underline the two sides to the change; that is, beginning to work for a wage, and the move away from 'childish' preoccupations in spare time.

> ...as you got in your teens you thought you were grown up then and you didn't go out playing about like you did when you were younger..

and

> That was a break then. 'Course, er...that was, er, comin' out of being a youth into a.....working in the world, drawing a wage, you know. [17]

As far as the family was concerned, the addition of an extra wage earner was significant in the sense that this often brought about an easing of financial pressures; as related earlier a large portion of the wage went to parents. In many instances this enhanced the standing of the individual in quite material ways such as being allowed a seat at table for the main meal, and specifically in the case of the young men the removal of any pressure to do housework.[18] Yet for the individual there was the registering of changed circumstances in other directions. During this period of their lives - after paid work had begun and before marriage - the majority of the respondents had experience of spending money which they had earned. They spent this money themselves and had relative freedom as to what they bought, although spending power had already been defined by the practice of parental confiscation for the upkeep of the whole family. The money given to parents was spent on essentials such as food, shelter and clothing, thus leaving the returned part potentially free for socialising, entertainment or saving. As will be shown later in the chapter, marriage brought a radical change to the effect that careful stock had to be taken of *all* the income of the individual once homebuilding and child-rearing began. Up to that period,

however, the consumption in which they were directly involved centred almost exclusively on their spare time activity. For them - and with the few middle class exceptions already noted - consumption equalled leisure consumption. Women, more than men, seem to have used non-work time as the basis for a reassessment of their family life as newly defined by their wage earning role. In the period before marriage the young women, with money to spend, were increasingly drawn to the commercial leisure forms developing from the late 19th century onwards, such as the variety theatre, cinema and dance hall. As Peter Bailey has remarked, although women were in a minority in the music halls,

> ...the complement of single working girls in the cheaper upper reaches of the hall could be considerable and was probably increasing. [19]

Single working women could look forward to spending their money in such institutions, and do so on an equal basis with men; for although wages were generally lower for women, they were important as consumers if they had the price of entrance.

Contact with these new forms could lead to a greater awareness of the anomaly present in the domestic division of labour. The domestic responsibilities which fell to female family members, helped create an underlying tension in many homes. For one woman in particular there came a point when she could no longer reconcile the fact that she did the same work as her brother, and went to the same cinema, yet was expected to cook his evening meal,

> But, er, he came to work at the same place as me, at the spring works, and I know he wasn't doing any more work than what I was doing, and so when we got home my mother said.. erm..[change of tone] 'Will you see to Harold's tea, Molly?' [Repeats the phrase.] I said, 'No, I will not,' and that was the first time that I'd ever turned around and talked to my mother like that. I said, 'No, I will not - he hasn't worked any harder than what I've worked today,' I said, 'And he should be quite capable of making his own tea' - because she

> were busy doing something else - and I said 'And I will not.' And she looked at me, and I said 'You're too soft with these lads,' and I said 'It's not fair mother, that we girls have to do these jobs and you let them get away with murder'. [20]

Rarely did grievances of this kind surface in quite such an unequivocal way in the tapes, but the situation Mrs Todd found herself in was familiar to many of the women. Indeed in some cases this was the main reason given for feeling that leisure changed little with starting work.

One-third of the respondents felt that the move from school to paid work heralded no palpable change in the overall outline of their activities. The statements of the men on this issue point to the importance of continued contact with neighbourhood peer groups, whilst the women linked a lack of change to the uninterrupted pressure on them to do housework.[21] Parental control over leisure via the restriction of time and money was also significant, although mentioned less frequently.[22]

The interviewees lived out their leisure patterns within the bounds set by money and time. These patterns, though at one instance extremely varied, at another display certain features which transcend the individual cases. When asked questions about what they did during their free time during the week, they spoke of many activities which were undertaken outside the home. They included: going to the cinema, courting, dancing, meeting friends, walking, time spent in the park, playing or watching football and rugby, drinking, athletics, gymnastics for men and callisthenics for women, billiards, roller skating, swimming, variety theatre, amateur dramatics, music hall, church and chapel, night school and politics.

Visits to the cinema, dance hall and variety theatre were the most prominent of the pastimes outside the home; the norm being one

visit during the week, and one at weekends either with a group of friends, or a particular partner.[23] These outings punctuated a week made up of less distinctive pastimes. For the young women the latter consisted in domestic work interspersed with chatting, or a visit to the house of a nearby friend.[24] For a few, dressmaking was an important event, and in this way appearances could be kept up for little money. Chapel and church played a part for a small minority of the young women. Such contact with amateur dramatical societies, social groups, and the weekly vocation of Sunday School teaching was confined to the better off working class and the middle class.[25] For the young males the once or twice weekly visits to the cinema or variety theatre tended to be supplemented by sporting activity such as football, cricket, swimming, athletics and gymnastics. The latter two were based on the attendance of clubs, whereas the others took a more impromptu form. Owing to their cost, the cinema, dance hall, and their precursors, the variety theatre and music hall, were for the majority a restricted commodity. Thus these alternatives costing little or no money, and available to both sexes were highly important. Indeed the activity of the young women could be more usefully dubbed 'personal and family maintenance' rather than non-work time in this context since it is partly characterised by necessary domestic work.

One of the male respondents emphasised what was for him the importance of playing cricket and football on the nearby common. Once his weekly allowance had been spent this was an important element in his daily activity:

> Mind you, the...you just hadn't the money for anything else, had you really..well, we hadn't...you know, I mean when I started work at fourteen, I don't know if this is anything to do with it [the question], my wage was only 15/3d.....You got 2/6 out of that...so if you went to the

pictures and sneaked an odd packet of fags you were broke.[26]

For a significant minority of males the neighbourhood still offered inexpensive pastimes including games and other group activity.[27] The habit of meeting friends on a nearby street-corner or common soon after tea, led to a game of football or cricket. The evening was sometimes rounded off by a walk to a local chip shop, after which the food would be shared during the stroll home.

Tiredness, after a long working day in a hot, noisy mill, could also mean that it was too much effort to get ready and go out to the pictures or a dance. This, together with a desire to consolidate finances for a special night out or a summer holiday could severely limit evenings out. As one woman said, her penny in the shilling 'lasted a long time because of this'.[28] Another remembered that she was 'glad to sit on the doorstep and talk' rather than find the energy to go out after a day in the mill.[29]

The weekend saw less pressing limitations; Sunday was a day free of the temporal demands of paid work. Saturday afternoon and (following a period of short-time working in the 1920s) Saturday morning became times that were free of wage labour. There was more time than during the week to recoup energy and get ready for going out. Money was in hand since the end of the week saw payday. This relative abundance of time and money made this part of the week quite distinct from the remainder.

For the overwhelming majority of people in the study, Saturday night was the night for going out,

> Saturday night was *the* night out...no other night to have a night out, as you might say, because you worked 'till half past five [during the week]. You didn't have time for nights out, only at weekends. [30]

It was taken for granted that this night, above all others, was a

time for seeking enjoyment, however little money there was:

> Well, you didn't sort of..I don't think anybody sort of decided..it were just an automatic thing. That era, that age, people just..well, they just went out at Saturdays, dressed up, once a week, if you could afford to dress up, otherwise you just didn't bother. But Saturday was mostly the night that everybody went out, sort of thing, you know. 31

The respondents included the cinema, dance hall, pub and variety theatre in their venues for leisure - the cinema being the most popular of these.[32] In the afternoon football, rugby, cricket and athletics were the prerogative mainly of male players and spectators.[33]

During the week the prime arbiter of how time was structured was paid work; during Saturday rhythms centred for these young people on the all important night out with friends. In contrast, Sunday saw mealtimes offering the main punctuation, although they themselves often depended on the Sunday School and church-going of the family for their timing. Socialising outside the home was tailored to fit within this framework. For instance most recalled meeting friends or courting during the few hours between Sunday teatime and bedtime.[34] A short walk or a visit to the park was one of the options for young males in the period between the midday meal and teatime.[35] The morning, however, was set aside for church or chapel going only for the minority of young adults who were still involved with organised religion.[36]

The weekend was, more than any other part of the week, the time for courting. Here the main requirement was to get away from the home and immediate neighbourhood. Many of those interviewed recalled meeting partners in particular places in the town designated as neutral territory. Three such venues were mentioned. One, known as the 'Chicken-Run' was located along a stretch of road bound, on the

one side by a large municipal park, and on the other by well-appointed middle class homes.[37] The 'Chicken Run' was so called because it drew boys and girls in their early teens who were new to courtship; 'chicken' seemed to denote a combination of youth and inexperience. Youths in their mid and late teens graduated to the parading which took place on the main shopping streets and the semi-parkland of the town centre. Girls and boys would arrive in groups confined to their own sex and gather into mixed groups or walk the length of either Drake Street, Yorkshire Street or the Esplanade,[38]

> ..and of course then when you got a bit older you went walking up and down Drake Street. And the lads used to stand in the doorways...and whistled after them, and if you didn't used to take a fancy to them you just cocked your nose up at them and that was it. [39]

The overwhelming majority of individuals involved in such forms of courtship were of working class background. It is perhaps significant that the place for such contact had to be in a middle class area or on a prosperous shopping thoroughfare. Two reasons seem to underlie this. Firstly, there was a desire to enjoy courtship in surroundings less tainted with austerity than were their home streets. Secondly, considerable importance was attached to the high degree of anonymity offered by such locations.

Since this 'parading', 'clicking' or 'takin'' took place primarily on Sunday evenings, most people dressed in the smartest clothes they had. A few of the women respondents indicated a deeper preoccupation with appearance by remarking on a particular dress or type of make-up.[40] The young men too, were quite careful of their dress and general look, to the extent that certain kinds of apparel were the signal for ridicule. One respondent could never bring himself to 'parade' because his parents gave him large black boots to wear throughout his late teens. Without shoes or boots of an

acceptable appearance he would, he pointed out, have been laughed at.[41] For most people parading seems to have been a less painful experience, providing the possibility of unsupervised contact with people of their own age group. Often a male and female gathering would combine *en masse*, after which individuals would pair off with each other. Yet once individual partnerships had been established over a period, the couples would tend to confine themselves more and more to each others' company or to a greatly reduced circle of established couples.

The younger interviewees, who grew up during the years after 1918, when both cinema and dancehall were firmly established, met increasingly in these places, rather than on the street.[42] Unlike their predecessors, people who were teenagers during the 1920s and 30s spoke of a variety of gathering points which included a particular shopfront in the town centre, a favourite pub (the young men only) and a number of cinemas or dancehalls. Indeed one of the most significant factors about these two commercial institutions is the way in which they were so readily absorbed into the leisure patterns of adolescents and young adults. Evidence indicates the growing importance of the dancehall in particular, as a place for the meeting and socialising, involved with friendship and courtship. The 'parading' which had taken place on pavements or shop doorways in generations before the First World War became displaced rather than totally eradicated. Instead of being the main vehicle for the socialising associated with courtship, increasingly it took on the role of prologue or adjunct. More and more, partnerships were struck up inside the dancehalls and cinemas on a Saturday night, with perhaps a preamble in the form of a gathering in the traditional spots on the street. This mutual colonization which took place between an existing sub culture on the one hand, and a growing

commercial sector on the other, had further aspects to it. For instance, by the late 1920s commercial leisure provision had been dramatically extended, the result being a whole range of establishments distinguishable in terms of entrance fee, decor and quality of entertainment. Differing degrees of status were awarded to each of the venues; seats at either of the town's two super cinemas for example were much sought after. Established courting couples in particular appear to have been drawn to these places, filled as they were with the promise of opulence and glamour. The main dance hall in the town was referred to, with a regard approaching reverence, as the place where 'all the best girls went' or as '*the* place for young people to go'.[43]

Other aspects of the activity associated with going out remained relatively unmodified by contact with commercial forms. The arrangement by which people made their way to the town-centre gathering places, or the institutions themselves is an example of continuity. The girls usually arranged their outings with one or two friends from work, whereas the boys show evidence of going out in larger groupings which combined workmates, and the remnants of their neighbourhood play-gang.[44] As already related, playing football on local streets and commons, or congregating on street corners, was an important pastime for a number of the adolescent boys. This was so not only because it offered an alternative to commercial forms of leisure, but also due to the fact that the groups that were formed in the neighbourhood provided the basis for contact with the variety theatre, dance halls and cinemas in the town.[45]

As in childhood, restrictions placed on the leisure of youths varied in accordance with the gender of the individual. For the boys, rigid parental discipline was rare, though warnings against

such things as drink or gambling were recalled.[46] Parents did not usually give a specific time for boys to be in in the evening. For most of the young women, however, the situation was quite different. Parental rules were common; strict deadlines were the norm for those coming home after an evening out.[47] In the homes of Rochdale, as in those of Lancaster, Barrow and Preston chronicled by Elizabeth Roberts, female youths had their time punctuated by the demands of domestic and paid work, but also as a result of parental discipline.[48]

Some haunts for youthful leisure were considered completely taboo by a few parents, and these included all pubs and a particular dance venue or cinema thought of as low class.[49] Pubs were considered to be out of bounds to any young woman worthy of respect, unless of course she was with her husband.

A minority of women, made up mainly of middle class respondents, spoke of situations which involved less intrusive rule-making by parents. The middle class men, though in a few cases forbidden to drink or gamble, enjoyed as much freedom as their working class counterparts. In all, this suggests a greater emphasis on following the examples set by parents in middle class and better off working class homes, rather than the rigid rule-making which beset working class females.[50]

Marriage

Attention has so far been paid to the shift to paid work and the changes which accompanied it. A second, equally important stage within the history of the individual was marriage. With this came the financial responsibility of building a home, plus the subsequent demands made by children on the allocation of time and money. Not surprisingly these new commitments set out a palpably different

context for leisure. The interviewees had recollections which can be placed into two categories. The overwhelming majority underwent quite significant changes in their attitudes and activity; whilst only a few people spoke of little or no change. In the latter case the direct and indirect statements made showed that these people went out very rarely before they were married, and when they did so they mostly confined themselves to forms not requiring financial outlay. Both before and after marriage their leisure was consistently home-centred and predominantly non-commercial in character.[51]

The majority, however, revealed new priorities which centred around homebuilding and child rearing, both entailing a reallocation of time and money.[52] These essential outlays accounted for far more income than had been the case with the single individual, even though the level of available income increased once ties with the parental home were cut. As one male respondent said,

> After you got married, things were a bit different, you'd a wage reckoned up then .[53]

Changes in the financial sphere underpinned wider changes in patterns of leisure. As in the case of Mr Bailey, a keen amateur athlete and a regular attender of dances and cinema, matrimony brought new concerns,

> And when you got a family of course, you have other interests, don't you, you know. You get a house of your own, you're cleaning up and doing....and doing little jobs in the house, and at weekends you're going shopping. [54]

Women were affected primarily because new work responsibilities in the home fell most heavily on them. If, as in the case of Mrs Casson, domestic responsibilities and paid work had to be done, a thorough restructuring of patterns of activity could take place,

> I got moulded into a set pattern. Home and...home came first. You see, I used to go out to work and back...and I used to do the housework, and I had to wash with the.. you know, do the washing for the child, and used to sew and knit to keep her nice. [55]

In effect Mrs Casson worked a 'double shift'; in the factory and the home. Yet she was in a minority in this sense, for most of the female interviewees had ceased work before children came into the family. Any benefits which two incomes had brought thus disappeared, creating further limitations on the scope of the family, and not least in the area of leisure.

Children made particular demands on the time and money resources of the parents. In a few cases partners ceased going out together whilst their children were young, preferring always to have one parent, usually the mother, in the home.[56] Indeed for one respondent, bringing up a family was recalled mainly in terms of the way it consistently tied her to the house.[57] The combination of child-care and financial aspects of homebuilding set the framework for a repertoire of activities such as visits to parents, walking, and social gatherings of friends or relatives. Events would in the latter case centre on a meal or on some form of entertainment such as a sing-song.[58] However, the forces directing activity towards home-centredness were not exclusively of a negative or limiting nature. For a significant minority of those from poorer back-grounds, marriage was seen to be a chance to make good the short-falls experienced during childhood. There was a chance for a combined effort to improve on the predicament both materially and socially. One woman vowed to herself that once married she would have a home life as different as possible from the one she had with her parents. This desire seems to have been at the root of the way she arranged the priorities in her life once married,

> I think when you're just married, you find in your two selves, I think, you're working for something and sort-ing yourselves out. And as you get on in life, I mean got your home paid for, then you sort of started saving and sorting yourselves out to have a holiday...once a year because we only got one holiday a year. [59]

Another interviewee from a similar background remarked that for the first time he could be in the home without constantly being 'under each other's feet', as had been the case in the parental home.[60] These feelings were present to a lesser extent outside this category. For most of the working class respondents, the marital home offered new scope for expression and freedom not present in the parental home, nor indeed at work.

Though the forces exerting limits on marital leisure extended to all classes, financial constraints were less important amongst the skilled working, lower middle, and middle classes.[61] Here, home-centred leisure patterns were already present and merely underlined by the new relationships but church-based societies, could offer a major resort for those with new commitments. For most of the working class respondents however, there was a drastic cutback in the use of commercially organised leisure, which had been a major factor in their non-work time before marriage. Thus, twice weekly visits to the pub, dancehall and cinema were reduced in regularity to once a week, once a fortnight or less, the time being spent in the home and occasionally spiced with a shared visit to the local pub. Other differences between classes also existed. For instance those higher up the social ladder were more likely to have paid help in the home, and the freedom from domestic routine that this could bring. As one middle class woman remarked,

> I was very lucky because I had a help and she used to worship the children. And I could just go out whenever I wanted, I was very lucky indeed, yes. The envy of the girls up at [the golf club]. [62]

The sphere of work exerted forces on leisure in the sense that it set upper limits to what could be spent; recreation and necessities competed incessantly within the bounds set by income.

But further and more dramatic consequences were often related to work and the wage. Unemployment and short-time working which affected a minority of the respondents during early marriage had an enhanced effect, due to the fact that there was only one wage earner (the husband) whilst the children were young. As at other times of unemployment, an increase in non-work time and a decrease in finance, came as a result. Economies had to be made at all levels including money for leisure. A working class woman who lived through the depressions of the 1920s and 1930s recalled that in 1929, after only a month of marriage, her husband was on short-time work. He worked one week per fortnight and was given inadequate dole money for the week without work. Previously, they had been saving for furniture and carpets but immediately had to economise. The first items to be cut were visits to the pictures, and then efforts were made to supplement the dole by taking a hen-pen and her husband doing part-time union work. Food was also a target for economies:

> I don't know how we lived, but we did, but, er, there was a jam pot, you know, a jam pot every day. [63]

The time taken up by paid work, if entailing unsocial hours, could also encroach upon leisure within marriage. The policemen, firemen, politicians and journalists in the sample showed how little free time could be shared between two spouses.[64] For all the respondents, work could see to it that they were too tired to get ready and go out to the pub, dancehall or cinema. The physical and mental fatigue which often came after a long day's work could seem insurmountable and rule out the possibility of enjoyment outside the home. The effects of the daily round of paid and domestic work should not be underestimated; they should be counted amongst the factors setting parameters around leisure.

CHAPTER 5

WORK AND LEISURE

At the very simplest level, the relationship between work and leisure can be defined with respect to time, *i.e.* the manner in which the 168 hours in each week were assigned to sleep, leisure and work. Work created financial as well as temporal boundaries, however, and it was within these bounds, described by the demands and rewards of labour, that attitudes and beliefs were created, held and lived. The values that were accepted as principles of life included those which linked the outwardly separate spheres of work and leisure. For instance, some of the interviewees mentioned in the previous chapter had quite developed ideas about their role and identity as wage earners. These ideas had relevance at work, but also in the sphere of leisure, and in both cases were closely bound up with quite intimate and otherwise private aspects of their personalities, including their sexual identities.

The majority of the sample were involved in waged manual work, which was frequently mentally and physically tiring, and often boring and debilitating; in the noisy textile mills of the town, workers moved at the behest of the rhythms dictated by the machine. Such work was not without its positive elements, for the mills could be sociable places where friendships were made, yet few forgot that economic necessity had brought them there. Work was a time when mental and physical energies were expended and freedom curtailed; leisure on the other hand was the part of life which offered 'a change' - reparation and a degree of antonomy - something quite opposed to the demands of the workplace. This vision had two further aspects to it. Firstly, the change was seen in terms of the ability

to relax and recoup the mental and physical energies expended at work.[1] The most desirable, indeed the fullest expression of this re-charging process was the Saturday night out. Particularly for the youths this had all the potential ingredients for a marked alternative to toil and fatigue. This was the case because Saturday night was situated quite clearly in their time (the weekend) rather than the period that was considered outside their control (work time). Also the range of resources available for having ' a good night out' or 'something special' had a particular relevance on this night. The fact that an increasing proportion of the activities were set within an avowedly commercial relationship, did little to detract from their significance. Indeed, the connection between the identity of the wage earner, and that of the leisure spender seemed to have a particular importance, since it was expressing a profound distinction between work time and an individual's own time. Nowhere were the identities of earner and spender more vividly combined than in the early years of a person's full time work, for it was often in this phase of life that those from the working class had sufficient resources to explore the possibilities of leisure as a form of recompense.

Secondly, people spoke of their leisure time as offering a chance actively to escape from the workplace. Yet again, the idea of a radical difference between work and non-work time figured crucially in the majority of these statements. Work was not seen in a totally negative light by any means, but the difference between it and the rest of the day and week was seen as prime:

> [work]...didn't feel to be offering anything. It was a sense of release when..er..I could have..er..my spare time. If I knew during the day, whilst I was at work,

> that night I should be going out, it was something I looked forward to eagerly...and perhaps I worked a bit better as a result of that. [2]

This situation, where the boredom and drudgery of a long working day were made easier to bear by thoughts of leisure, was common. It was as if the non-working part of the day made up for the deprivations of toil. In this particular case, the fact that work was unrewarding was compounded by Mr Tattersall's inability to find anything he could value in the routines and priorities of his parental home. During his youth he did not enjoy the thought of the 'home then work, then bed' routine and did not wish to succumb to it as his parents had. The one way he felt he had of distancing himself from this was through meeting friends for outings in the evening, and being involved in amateur sports in the neighbourhood. These two outlets, however limited as agents of self-determination, were held by him to have been the only sites for a corrective to a potentially humdrum existence. Once married, however, he felt the home began to offer him an alternative basis for a degree of personal freedom and expression. Others echoed the spirit of Mr Tattersall's view of work and leisure:

> But it was, you see....when you're working on the [woollen] mules, and it was normally bad spinning, and...it's...not a very edifying job working on the mules, it's a soul destroying job as it, it's, you know, and it was really hard graft, you were at it. It was just a, it was just a complete change from being cooped up in a factory all your life, you know, all day, you see, and chasing a pair of mules backwards and forwards, you know. Er, so it was a bit of a change to get outside into the open air. I think that probably was one of the reasons why you did try to get out on every conceivable occasion. [3]

Yet some from the middle class and well-off working class did not hold this distinction nearly so strongly.[4] The idea that leisure

was a compensation for the necessary evil of work was replaced by the notion of work as a bringer of intrinsic reward. Leisure time was certainly distinguishable from work, but the radical separation felt by most people - mainly those from the working class - was less apparent. Work was seen as a duty more than a drain on energy and a discordant facet of life. One person, a skilled engineer spoke of going out rarely because of the demanding nature of his work. He said this in a way which emphasised the positive aspect of his work, remembered more for the satisfaction it brought rather than for its detractions. Both before and after marriage his leisure time was largely devoid of the commercially based, popular leisure forms which figured for the majority. Instead, it was seen as a time to recoup after a hard day's work, but was not held as a necessary recompense for the time lost in the mill or factory.[5] Others from technical, clerical and professional backgrounds shared this attitude which saw work as offering fulfilment in its own right.[6] Such positive views of work must have owed much to the greater degree of status attached to their jobs; one clerical worker felt particularly strongly that her heightened status and the congeniality of her surroundings were basic to her happiness and social standing.[7]

The Workplace as a Centre for Leisure

For those workers whose experience of work was largely negative, the facilities for leisure offered by some of the local employers could act as a palliative. The motives of the employers in providing such amenities must have included a wish to counter the attractions of the pub, but also to achieve a greater degree of

social cohesion and the prospect of better industrial relations.[8] Between the two World Wars, industrial recreation had become firmly established in Rochdale. In six of the local companies recreational provision was made mainly on the lines of organised sport and a series of clubs for socialising and hobbies. For example, Bright's cotton mills helped with the expense of running a Girl Guide and Boy Scout troop, a girls' club, a choral society, the Healey Mill Social Club and regular inter-departmental football matches.[9] Another firm, Higham's Textiles, ran a social club during lunch hours and after work, where snacks and soft drinks could be bought, and the occasional dance was held with music provided by gramophone records.[10] At lunchtime in particular this was a centre for card playing and the exchange of gossip. Two further companies offered limited facilities to their workforce. The first of these, an engineering concern named Robinson were local pioneers in the laying-out of a recreation ground specifically for the use of their workers. They also arranged a yearly trip to the seaside which allowed non-employees to be included on payment of the fare.[11] A second company, Turner's Asbestos, did little more than stage annual field days with sports and entertainments that were more usually found as part of church and chapel recreation.[12]

Two Rochdale businesses, one a large and old-established flannel and worsted producer, the other a newly arrived South and Midlands based oligopoly, held the joint lead for the provision of leisure facilities for their workers. The first, Kelsall and Kemp, had by 1932 established girls', boys' and men's clubs, each of which were involved with musical entertainments. Billiards and handicrafts were however the sole prerogative of the men and boys.[13] Young workers under a specified age were encouraged to go on camping trips to the

Lake District where they could stay on land owned by the chairman of the firm, Lord Rochdale. Welfare arrangements included a maternity benefit scheme, but in this, as in other respects, the scope and extent of provision did not equal that of the national leaders in recreational and welfare schemes for workers, such as the Rowntree and Cadbury concerns. Indeed, activity at Kelsall and Kemp, like that of Bright's Ltd., owed much to the social repertoire of the church; an address from an 'eminent speaker', a concert, a party, the serving of food, and a concern with fund-raising. In 1922 a diary column in the journal, *Industrial Welfare* (a national publication) gave the following entry:

> Addressed the works committee at Messrs. Kelsall and Kemps works at Rochdale. Lord Rochdale presided both at this meeting and at the preliminary "Sausage and mashed" meal which preceded it. Met the members of the concert party, some of whom had been in the service of the firm for over fifty years. Within the last three months they have raised by their efforts over a hundred pounds for local charities. [14]

A second and equally important provider of leisure facilities, Dunlop Mills, had after World War One, moved into a large purpose-built mill on the outskirts of the town. Here they produced woven cloth for use in tyres and sports equipment. From the start, arrangements for recreation took on a more sophisticated basis than others in the vicinity. Like the Horlicks and Kodak concerns in the South of England, a social club was set up which was more akin to a pub than the chapel-like craft and interest based groups of Kelsall and Kemp.[15] In 1934 Dunlop had opened a large detatched house near the factory which had been renovated to provide a general lounge, ladies lounge, a billiard and games room and eventually a small ballroom.[16] The club had no drink license, but later developments were to under-

line its similarities with the pub; a bowling green was built near to the house in 1938.[17] This addition (a common amenity at several pubs and clubs in the town) complemented an already popular programme of physical recreation, including tennis, and the yearly gala sports days, reminiscent of the chapel field-days.[18]

An interviewee who was a member of the club and used the facilities, recalled it being a regular meeting place for friends. On a Saturday afternoon he joined his friends in playing cards there, and on Tuesday evenings he regularly attended the dances since they were close to his home and were a cheap way of getting out of the house to meet other people of his age. Out of the total number of interviewees, however, less than a dozen had similar social facilities provided for them, or were given encouragement in this direction by their employers. For the great majority of respondents recreational facilities were either completely non-existent, or took the form of a yearly day trip, dance, or a Christmas 'footing', often arranged without the co-operation of the management.[19] For most, the use of a canteen was a luxury unheard of before World War One, and rarely encountered even by the 1930s.[20] Nonetheless, food would be eaten in the mill, often alongside the machines, or in the case of clerical workers, at their desk, and only when the weather was fine would there be an exodus outdoors, to sit on the fire escape, or a park bench. After lunch, chatting, reading newspapers, playing cards or dominoes - sometimes for money - involvement with football, cricket and other improvised games were the norm. One respondent recalled 'flick rugby', where balls of cotton were flicked at the jinny-gate of the machine.[21] This use of surroundings was one way of counteracting the boredom of a lunch hour, when the weather was too

bad to go outside. Others simply chatted, the topic of conversation often touching on their activities during the previous weekend:

> ...especially on a Monday, you used to talk about all that had happened on a weekend. And you used to hear some of the strangest stories that were ever told. A lot of it was just imagination, what people would like to have happened, but it didn't. But if your story topped another one you were the tops for that week. [22]

Inside and outside the workplace, a good deal of effort was put into 'making the best of it', often in unencouraging circumstances and with scant resources.

CHAPTER 6

THE CHANGING PUBLIC HOUSE: THE BREWERS AND THE STATE

Alongside the programmes of industrial welfare implemented in this period came the development of a series of commercially based leisure forms. Whilst the former were demonstrably bound to the sphere of work in the sense of funding and organisation, the latter appeared to be outwardly divorced from the workplace and its social context. Businesses concerned with catering for leisure, ostensibly under the rule of market forces, consumer sovereignty and free choice, extended rapidly. The growth of a massive cinema industry within the four decades following the 1890s, together with a dance hall and gramophone record boom in the 1920s, are but two instances of this growth. If the changes in the already existing commercial forms such as the pub, music hall, and holiday transport industry are taken into account, then a picture of marked transformation in leisure provision begins to emerge.

The public house underwent change in the period between 1880 and World War Two. Financially it was not the same in 1939 as it had been 60 years earlier. These developments affected its social role and identity, for by the 1930s a sizeable minority of pubs were showing signs of a transformation to an improving modern resort, displaying the trappings and ethos of an Edwardian parlour, rather than the seedier characteristics of the local beerhouse. There are parallels to these social and economic developments seen by the pub; Peter Bailey has shown that in the case of the English music hall, the persuit of profit by larger and larger business concerns transformed it from its earlier 'free and easy' status to that of a more ordered

and rationalised form of entertainment.[1] What is significant about this instance is the fact that the Edwardian music hall owed much to one of its forebears, the tavern concert room. As Brian Harrison remarks, the Victorian pub was often the scene of marked organisational and financial change, reaching a peak in the late Victorian period, before the music hall and the pub finally became separate institutions.[2] This aspect of Bailey and of Harrison's work, with its forms on individual entrepreneural developments suggests two further related themes. On the one hand, the link between the nature of the pub and the growing importance of the direct and indirect control wielded by the breweries cannot be underestimated. On the other, state mounted reform, and the changes it brought, shaped in a powerful way the legal context for pub trade. The effects of such factors were traceable in Rochdale, but it was on a national scale that such shifts and developments were taking place.

Changes having their origins in the legal and commercial circumstances of the drink trade did not always cause detectable modifications in the character of the pub as a social amenity. Nonetheless, factors such as the increasing concentration of ownership in the drink trade did have marked effect, even if this was evident in quite an uneven fashion, across time and within different parts of the industry. Preoccupation with capital and the state does not of course imply that economic and legislative pressures are the only factors worthy of attention; on the contrary wider economic considerations such as the spending power of individuals, plus the availability of alternatives to drink are also important.[3] Equally, temperance agitation must be seen to have made its mark on popular conceptions about drink, as well as making limited ground in the form of anti-

drink legislature.[4] All of these issues are important ingredients in an overall survey of the sphere of drink; here however, issues such as these can at best be touched on, the aim being to supplement these existing areas of concern rather than to deny or ignore them. For although the effects of state legislation (rather than what may give rise to it) and the commercial development of the licensed trade are in no sense final and all-powerful, they do warrant study.

Previous surveys of the industry over the period of study, indicate four reasonably distinct phases of economic development.[5] In the two decades following 1880, the brewing trade expanded by reducing costs and buying retail outlets; this was followed by a phase of low profits and relative stagnation, lasting roughly 15 years. The years of World War One show output restrictions but high profits due to price inflation, and the fourth phase, consisting of the inter-war years, is characterised by low output and profits with only little improvement in response to a wider prosperity in the last 5 or 6 years before 1939.

1880-1900

During this period the decline of the smaller brewing companies and the gradual concentration of business within the control of 8 or 9 of the largest concerns was one of the most notable trends. For instance, the brewery companies still in existence in 1951 absorbed 125 businesses between 1888 and 1902.[6] Another feature was that beer output grew markedly, helped by cheaper and improved transport, plus the increasing mechanisation of the brewing process. This, together with technical improvements such as efficient carbonation and

pasteurisation were actively fostered to help reduce the production costs of the large firms;

> As brewing became more scientific, the larger breweries reduced their unit costs more rapidly than small brewers. The optimum size of breweries appears also to have increased as the control of the process became more exact and brewing became more 'automatic' and less dependant upon personal judgement with little aid from instruments. [7]

Indeed, until the late 1870s the licensed trade had, above all other consumer industries, radically changed its production and distribution methods to benefit from an increasing urban market. As Mathias has pointed out, the growth of a drink industry based on high turnover and low profit margins per sale before 1880, was a portent of developments to follow in consumer goods and food processing after that date.[8]

In the drink trade the continued concentration of companies and modernisation of production took place during two decades of disappointing beer sales. In the early 1880s consumption per head fell markedly away from a peak originating in the 1870s boom.[9] The latter '80s and the whole of the '90s witnessed a slow and incomplete recovery of these trading levels, with the result that competition for custom was fierce. The larger firms were able to survive or even prosper if they implemented economies of scale and technical improvements. But in addition the purchase of retail premises, both from individual landlord entrepreneurs and from smaller breweries was a common procedure. The brewers took such a course of action because they could be assured of a more stable and predictable market for their beer. The exclusive sale of their product in retail premises controlled by them, meant a secure outlet with the related advantage that demand could be more closely gauged

and waste reduced.

However, the extension of brewers' control and ownership did in some cases assist the publican; in return for agreeing to sell the output of one firm, he or she would be given help in the form of a loan against the purchase or improvement of the premises. Other cases saw breweries buying houses themselves and charging rents to landlords which they appointed. A third arrangement, offering maximum control, saw a manager installed who then ran the pub on a salary plus commission basis, without having to pay rent. All three situations fall under the heading of what was then described as the Tied House System.[10]

The 1899 Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws considered the existing competition to buy or control public houses to be important enough to make it the subject of a whole chapter. The majority report remarked:

> The tied-house system has developed rapidly in the last 20 years. In effect fully three-quarters of the licensed houses are now more or less tied. This is mainly the result of competition and the desire of the brewing firms to secure their existing trade, in houses which they own or have financed. [11]

This rivalry could be seen to have been exacerbated by two further factors, one of which was concerned with finance, the other the law. In 1887 Sir Edward Guinness successfully offered £6 millions of shares to public subscription, and following this many breweries were encouraged to do the same. Allsops, and later Threlfalls, the Manchester brewers followed, but the latter split their £10 shares into £1 denominations, thereby ensuring a wider base of support.[12] By 1890, Bass, Truman, Hanbury and Buxton, Courage, Watney, Meux and Whitbread were included in the stock-exchange list of 87 joint-stock breweries each offering a dividend of 5% or more.[13] This boom

coincided with the early phase of extension in the tied-house system, and the two phenomena can be seen to have been mutually creative. Public subscription allowed firms to withdraw their capital and use it for loans to publicans or outright house purchase. Conversely, the more houses the brewers managed to buy, the greater the market and the better the deal offered to the shareholder.[14]

Legal factors also played their part. The 1869 Licensing Act brought restrictive beerhouse licensing in the sense that local justices could refuse such a warranty if the landlord or his premises fell below standards appropriate to 'proper conduct'.[15] This created a situation where few would offer a loan to an individual entrepreneur landlord for the purchase of a house. As Knox has pointed out, breweries were the only people who stood to gain from offering such loans. Whereas a bank might be fearful of the closure of a pub and therefore the possibility of a bad debt, the brewers could attach clauses of control to an agreement. Property was so essential to the extension, and in some cases the continuation of trade, that many breweries took the risk. They

> ...were required to pay for something which was in its nature precarious because it depended on a license which could at all times be lost through misconduct, and, at a later date merely because the Justices considered the house redundant. The insecurity of the license therefore mitigated against obtaining capital from anyone who was not going to obtain a trading advantage from the loan, and also made the wholesalers desirous of sufficient control over the license to prevent the possible loss of their investment. [16]

Indeed, in the face of powerful opposition mounted by the anti-drink lobby, and the threat of closure posed by the local state, many free house landlords took the decision to sell their premises to the large brewing companies.[17] In the provinces especially, outright purchase by the brewers continued to transform the drink trade into a more

integrated and less variegated phenomenon.

1900-1914

The share boom in the brewing industry had died away by the time the turn of the century came, but the concentration of businesses and the scramble for property which accompanied it both continued. The 1904 licensing act had long been feared by the drink trade who forecast a draconian law that would reduce the trade to a shadow of itself. In the event the combined effects of the 1902 and 1904 acts did reduce the number of pubs, but it could be argued that this led to a beneficial weeding out of overcapacity in the retail sector during the period of decline in sales.[18]

Price cutting failed to stimulate trade, and increasingly attempts to rationalise production were the main recourse. Yet the larger concerns, built up by amalgamation, were the only ones capable of taking the fullest advantage of this option. Equally, competition to improve standards and efficiency in public houses became emphasised in this period, but as in the case of production, this was mainly the prerogative of the larger firms. They could afford to sink capital into improvements to houses, whilst allowing premises with poor trade to close. The smaller breweries on the other hand, had to make the best of existing outlets and limited capital available for their improvement. As John Vaizey has noted, the improvement made to public houses and the reduction in their numbers was a consequence of a number of factors including temperance propaganda and competition for diminishing trade.[19] Legal constraints also played their part since laws passed in this phase reduced outlets and further economic impetus to change came with a raising of license duties in 1909. Given this set of circumstances it is hardly surprising that brewers, and especially the larger ones, were disposed

to plan for a future with 'fewer and better' pubs. For instance, Mitchell & Butler and Ansells were brewers who led the field in a systematically planned upgrading of their houses, to present customer and non-customer alike with a different identity. By the First World War they had a clear policy involving managed houses which ensured the closest control of their tied property. Perhaps these two firms consciously anticipated an extension in state legislation and, in the interwar years, a continuing downturn in consumption; either way, they took a course strongly indicative of things to come.

1914-1919

The year 1913 saw the end of the scramble for property, with all but 5% of it tied.[20] Also in that year it became clear that the fortunes of the Temperance Movement were on the wane. A year later the effects of the war were seen in a 35% fall in output during the first three months. Prices rose partly because of increased liquor duties, plus higher raw material costs and also greater profit margins within a context of general inflation.[21] In 1915, the Government, worried about drunkenness and absenteeism on the part of the relatively highly paid munitions workers, introduced a series of measures. The Defence of the Realm Act (D.O.R.A.) entailed the setting up of state management in the area of Carlisle and in the Gretna and Cromarty Firth districts of Scotland. Pubs and breweries were bought and administered in a way which from that time onward added weight to the hopes and claims of the improved public house lobby inside and outside the trade.[22] The act also resulted in the imposition of stricter hours of drinking in parts of England and

Wales.[23] Some 38 million of the 41 million people were in areas under the direction of the Central Control Board during the war years. The Board attempted to outlaw the practice of 'treating', seen to be a major cause of insobriety in areas where high concentrations of servicemen or munition workers were to be found.[24]

In March 1917 beer output was limited to 10 million barrels by the food controller who also demanded a reduction in its specific gravity. The remaining years of the war saw a rapid fall in beer consumption, before an easing of state restriction[25] on hours and output coincided with a recovery of trade between 1918 and 1920.[26] The 1921 Licensing Act consolidated the provisions of the previous half decade, with the effect of producing quite new peacetime operating conditions for the brewers. The next 18 years entailed a series of adjustments to lower production levels of weaker beer for an increasingly depressed market, the latter suffering the effects higher excise duty and higher prices.[27] As had been the case before the war, these hostile conditions militated against the smaller concerns unable to wield the necessary amount of capital for investment and the improvement of production, distribution and retailing. The larger firms were best able to cut costs with new brewing equipment and techniques, plus the expansion of the radius of local delivery which they could implement with the petrol lorry. Bottled beer grew more popular in the inter war years; by the 1930s it accounted for 25% of beer sales, but since the bottling machinery and promotion expenses were relatively high, the larger firms further extended their influence.[28] The improvement of public houses, though not solely the prerogative of the large firm, did depend on a considerable capital outlay, not easily available to smaller concerns. In the 1920s,

Duttons Blackburn Brewery, found that it was

> '...obvious that the day of the small brewery companies was over and the problem was to absorb or be absorbed.'[29]

In fact, between 1928 and 1938 six north of England breweries were bought, each of which included the control of retail property. The year 1937 saw the formation of Duttons Lancashire and Yorkshire Property Corporation,

> ...with a view to taking over [by management] some of the numerous licensed premises that had been purchased, and to provide a method of financing any future acquisitions. [30]

Although the maxim of 'fewer and better' public houses had existed before the war, this was a period in which a major extension in the policies of improvement took place. It could be argued that financially sound thinking lay behind such plans, for these houses earned their revenue within a less hostile and (potentially) more stable legal environment. Magistrates, some of whom held with the 'fewer and better' notion were able to wield their power to accommodate and encourage the growing number of firms convinced in this direction. Ansells Brewery continued to take a lead here, providing an example for less developed concerns to follow. At the annual shareholders meeting of 1919, the importance of the policy was reiterated and a call for increased co-operation between trade and the authorities was made.[31] Many brewers at this time seemed to feel certain of a disastrous outcome, should they fail to accommodate themselves to such a 'settlement'. In fact, as Vaizey has pointed out, those brewers who had undergone a number of closures in any one area were often well placed to submit their plans for a larger or improved house and thereby partake in a neighbourhood oligopoly.[32]

These changes should be seen alongside two further factors. The

first concerns the nature of the brewing industry, which like other forms of capital exhibited a tendency to monopoly. This reality meant a new agenda of desirable operating conditions had to be adopted by the larger concerns. The need was for stable outlets of firm tenure, as well as a steady demand for beer. The outlay of capital to rationalise premises was in these circumstances acceptable as long as turnover remained compatible with finely tuned production processes. Secondly, the temperance lobby, or more specifically the concessions it had been able to secure in terms of state legislation, are an undeniable feature of this phase. There are no examples of such law being traceable to a single provenance, but in many cases statutes are incomprehensible unless they are interpreted with some awareness of the pressures exerted by such groupings. The state control experiments begun in areas of England and Wales during the First World War, were prescriptive statements as far as the running of public houses was concerned.[33] These experiments which in themselves were a success, were also a positive factor in the sense that they quelled many long held doubts about the worth of the trade, whilst offering a goal some of the leading sections of the industry were ready to pursue.[34] The improved state run houses and breweries in Carlisle for instance, brought an increase in the drinking area, which would in most instances be an anathema to the representatives of the local state, the Justices. But here a different set of circumstances operated; for as a Parliamentary Committee pointed out,

> ...this should be welcomed rather than deprecated where such increase will facilitate supervision, enable seating accommodation to be provided, get rid of overcrowding, and improve the tone of a house. [35]

The report went on to suggest that licensing authorities should

reassess their previous opposition to many plans brewers had made for an increase in drinking space. It represented an ethical and authoritative statement about the coexistence of social propriety and business efficiency which had coinage far beyond its strictly defined brief. On either side of a divide separating the publicly and privately owned parts of the industry, a vanguard with its material basis in oligopolistic control came to direct increasing ideological and financial capital toward improvement. Yet this impetus was not without obstacle; many magistrates were still hostile to any physical extension to drinking places,[36] and a considerable body of popular opinion saw that larger brewers had used their prominence to profiteer and limit choice.[37]

Between 1931 and 1939 the Fellowship for Freedom and Reform, a pro-drink reforming body published monthly bulletins which told of the progress being made by the trade in terms of modernisation. In an early editorial the message was quite clear,

> In our motto "Better and Fewer" we put "better" first because we believe that structural improvement is the indispensable preliminary to a beneficial reduction of licenses. Everything depends on the amount of floorspace. At a guess we should say that throughout England and Wales there are too many licenses and that there is considerably too little floor space. Cramped quarters, customers jammed against the bars, few chairs because there is no room for them - all these things turn attention unwholesomely on drink instead of away from it. The floor space in a decent house must be sufficient to carry comfortably what is called the "peak load" - the larger number of customers who visit public houses at the end of the week and on Sundays. [38]

Later issues included a series of articles entitled 'My Ideas for an Improved Public House' in which a number of celebrities were asked to give a list of priorities. In January 1933 for instance, the Dean of Chichester gave his ideas on what the public house should offer.[39]

October of that year saw an article on 'The Modern Public House' which showed

> ...some of the wonderful architecture being planned for new pubs. [40]

This bulletin was obviously a useful public relations weapon for pro-drink reformers, and beyond the irony of the use of the word freedom in a context of creeping monopoly, inaccuracy if not distortion might well be considered the hallmark of its project. However, on the basis of Parliamentary and Royal Commission evidence, Hawkins and Pass show that between 1922 and 1930 approximately 27% of the total number of public houses in England and Wales were improved.[41] Similarly the business histories of several brewery companies show written and pictorial evidence of the improved and new houses under their control.[42] By the onset of world war two, much work had been done to create the context for 'more civilised drinking' within the industry itself. New premises had large and airy lounges with carefully chosen fittings and furniture; often gardens were provided to remind the visitor of a rather grand hotel rather than the run-down, if friendly, 'local'. The sometimes elegant architecture reminiscent of Elizabethan manor houses coexisted with more flamboyant and even garish designs having similarities with the super-cinemas also found in this period. These changes in the trade can, in part, be traced to a desire for rationalisation and efficiency in business terms; a larger pub it could be argued, produced economies of scale. In addition the 'open plan' aspect of many rebuilt and new houses went some way to satisfying consistently held and legally enforceable ideas about the need for good management and supervision. Yet neither should the further ideological aspects of the question be ignored; when the newer or improved pubs

were opened they beckoned the consumer to a series of implicit statements touching on themes of respectability, civility and modernity.

Social Trends

Running parallel with the above developments were those concerning the habits of the people who used the pub. In the half century before 1930 there had been an overall decline in the *per capita* consumption of beer and spirits. In the first two decades of this period there had been an unmistakeable though limited increase, but from 1900 the fall in consumption was marked.[43] Drunkenness had been seen to decrease, and this, viewed with consumption trends indicated that in some aspects of pub use, a shift in habits had occurred. Clearly, levels of consumption and convictions for drunkenness are inadequate as sole measures of shifts in personal habit, let alone those matters concerning the place of the pub in the neighbourhood. However, in a report released in 1932 by the *Royal Commission on Licensing*, some attempt was made to strike a balance between qualitative and quantitative forms of inquiry. Four sets of causes for change were listed, covering social, legislative, industrial and economic matters.

Under the first of these headings the authors mirrored the 1899 Royal Commission by noting an improvement in demeanour, and went on to describe a strengthening link between a decline in drunkenness and a growth in alternative pastimes to drinking:

> The social developments which have contributed to the much more remarkable improvement during the present century have been still wider. In particular, there has been a marked growth of counter attractions to drinking which were not, generally speaking, available to the previous generation - such as cinemas, wireless, allotments and gardens on new estates, playing fields, travel facilities and so forth. Better housing conditions

> and progressive development of education have also played their part.[44]

As if to add emphasis to the significance of this growth of 'counter attractions', an earlier section in the report singled out the young as a category where the most dramatic move to sobriety had taken place. This age group, presumably defined as those in their teens and early twenties were particularly important patrons of the dance halls and cinemas.

The main legislative causes of change were seen as on the one hand, the reduction of licenses and on the other, the restriction of hours, brought about by the acts of 1915 and 1921. Also the heavy increase in the tax on liquor during and after the war was pointed to; a duty of 2½d per pint of beer operated in 1930 compared with one of just over ¼d per pint in 1913. Perhaps surprisingly the increase in the overall cost was also subsumed under this heading. Between 1899 and 1930 the retail price of beer nearly doubled and the cost of spirits grew three or four fold. However, recent research into drink consumption and living standards indicates a more complex picture than one in which cost increases necessarily produce *quid pro quo* decreases in consumption.[45] Stagnating drink consumption between 1880 and 1895 for instance is seen as stemming from the relative expensiveness of alcohol compared to a growing range of cheap consumer goods and services. Although the rise in the money price of drink over this whole period is important, its relative price (i.e. alongside other non-essential goods) either acted as a boost or a depressant on sales. Furthermore, as Dingle has pointed out, periods seeing a rise in the real wage as a result of falling prices (rather than rising money wages) had a marked effect on traditional

habits of consumption. Years such as those between 1880 and 1895 saw an increased purchasing power available firstly to the housewife, because she could buy more for the same amount of cash. The money she had left over was used differently than if the male wage earner had it to spend on drink. A decade and a half of such practices he argues, led to a continued awareness of their desirability even when their material basis had been eroded.

Thirdly, the Royal Commissioners saw a significant change in the industrial sphere. A reduction in drink-induced absenteeism and 'inefficiency' whilst at work was mainly attributed to wider social forces already outlined. In addition, however, improvement was seen as:

> ...substantially helped by various changes in the conditions and organisation of industry which have developed in comparatively recent years. The increasing tendency to mechanisation, for instance, has meant, generally speaking, an increased demand for qualities of concentration and nice judgement in the worker in all grades of industry and commerce, for which excessive drinking must unfit him; it has probably too, by improving the conditions of work, reduced the nervous strain on the worker and so lessened the likelihood of what used to be known as "occupational" drinking.[46]

Clearly the commissioners held that the increased use of complex machinery with more integrated productive processes had brought about a change in drinking habits.

The fourth heading expanded the analysis of the role of the work-place in changing behaviour. In the paragraphs of the commission report headed 'Economic Depression' the authors noted that

> It is clear also that one effect of widespread unemployment may be to send up the value of employment and render the individual, be he manager or manual worker, more careful not to risk the loss of it by intemperance, should he be inclined that way.[47]

The fact that economic depression, quite apart from having a

political dimension, eliminated the possibility of buying drink for many of those out of work, was not neglected. Although more transitory in its effect this took its place as a factor amongst those legal and financial changes in the drink trade, improved social conditions, extended leisure facilities (for those who could afford them), and the overtly disciplining tendencies of the industrial sphere.

Such a combination merely exacerbated the structural changes that had been taking place in the productive and retail levels in the drink trade. Against a fall in beer sales continuing into the 'thirties, the brewers attempted to improve their position by advertising beer in general as well as brand names. In the following statement, made in 1930, by the director of the Brewers Society to its Birmingham branch, three factors are highlighted. If economic decline in the trade was to be arrested, a younger generation of male drinkers needed to be enticed into the pub. A third feature, mass advertising was to be the main way of achieving this:

> The chief customers of the public house today are the elderly and middle aged men. Unless you can attract the younger generation to take the place of the older men, there is no doubt that we shall have to face a steadily falling consumption...Unless steps are taken to say to him (the young man) that England's beer is still the best and healthiest beverage he can consume, and to bring before him all the good will and contentment that the public-house imparts in England, and to carry on this good will, we shall certainly see the trade on a declining basis...The main line would be press advertising, bill posting, advertising on public vehicles possibly in illuminated signs, distribution of literature, lectures and articles by prominent persons and press propaganda by means of editorial and news items...If we begin advertising in the press we shall see that the continuance of our advertising is contingent upon the fact that we get editorial support as well in the same papers. In that way it is wonderful how you can educate public opinion, generally, without making it too obvious that there is a publicity campaign behind it all...We want to get the beer drinking habit installed into thousands, almost millions, of young men who do not

at present know the taste of beer.[48]

Like other leisure businesses, the pub was not immune to the effects of economic depression during this inter war phase. However, economic explanations alone do not account for the under-representation of the younger drinker highlighted by Saunders. The cinema and dance hall had by this time become well established commercially, and offered a relatively cheap, sociable and sometimes glamorous leisure form which clearly rivalled the pub, whilst avoiding some of its seedier connotations. The Brewers Society began a corporate advertising campaign in the mid 1930s which was unable to turn back the clock, but nonetheless betrayed a growing awareness of the social as well as the economic context in which they operated.[49]

In 1880 the pub had few peers as a commercially based provider of leisure. By 1939 the market in which it operated had been transformed and this had repercussions for its character as a social institution. The growth of powerful new competitors, decades of state reform, and the tendencies of capital accumulation within the drink trade itself, had been of primary importance in making this so.

CHAPTER 7

THE PUB IN ROCHDALE: TABOOS AND HABITS

The pub was clearly an institution with its own business history. Yet this aspect of the past presents us with only a partial historical account; the public house was also a social institution encompassing a varied set of social provisions. It was also a place around which a range of values and practices involving friendship, neighbourliness, personal demeanour and social status were centred. The structural and institutional concerns of the previous chapter are important in the sense that they provide a set of parameters within which the lived aspects of the pub were experienced. However, no simple correspondence between such boundaries and the social practices which they framed is assumed here; with Dingle, it is important to reject the concept of 'economic man', with its idea of an essentially reactive being that it entails.[1] On the other hand, the pub was not a neutral phenomenon; it presented a range of images to drinker and non-drinker alike. For example, some pubs were seen as rough, others cosy and welcoming, or alternatively for those aspiring to the more refined haunts of the 'comfortably off'. The momentum gained by those breweries carrying out a programme of house improvement was by the 1930s, particularly important for the way in which it hailed the consumer to premises more akin to a well-appointed sitting-room rather than a saloon bar. With these provisos in mind, it seems important to begin to examine the link between the resources offered by the pub, and the gender and class defined cultures which it served.

Moral Judgements and Patterns of Use

In common with the leisure provision made by the church and (after the turn of the century) the local cinema, the pub offered a relatively cheap way of spending time outside the home. Unlike the cinema, the pub demanded no entrance fee; instead what was important was the ability to buy a drink.[2] Geographical accessibility was also a major characteristic of the pub. For all but those on the semi-rural fringes of the borough, at least one pub, or sometimes several were within a short walking distance. In the ribbon developments following major roads, and in the tightly packed areas of Victorian and Edwardian housing, provision was often copious. Even in Rochdale in the 1980s, testimony to this still stands in the form of scores of these older public houses punctuating areas of redevelopment, clearance and more recent decline.[3]

Such evidence of sustained and popular presence in the mainly working class areas should not lead to assumptions about a single, all-pervasive class attitude to the pub. Far from there being a homogenous response, attitudes and practices were marked by a great deal of variety. Within the sample of interviewees as a whole, the most striking if elementary distinction, which cut across class lines, was between those who did not go to the pub and those who did. Those who stayed away did so for a number of reasons.[4] These people, the majority of them women, came from backgrounds where links with the non-conformist church and its often strenuous opposition to drink, had a marked effect. For others their rejection of drink seemed to have been grounded less on a familial or congregational tradition, than on casual contact with semi secular groupings. As children they were exposed, in local church halls and missions, to the problems and

depravities the demon drink was held to bring. For many children, the weekly session offered by the Band of Hope or the Rechabites was a convenient and cheap attraction. These early instructions, usually with the help of slide-shows and homilies, retained their power, often into adulthood. In some cases they connected with a nascent but powerful desire to become distinct from the immediate social context by means of a wordly asceticism.

Local opposition to drink had its basis in the local religious and temperance organisations, but the effects of their views could be traced outside their walls. A significant element in the local council acted as a mouthpiece for a small but powerful Liberal-Non-Conformist alliance against drink. Within this grouping were several local industrialists and businessmen who, between 1880 and 1910 had pushed the council toward a policy largely hostile to the drink trade. In 1903 for example the council had called for a reduction of licenses in the area and the 1880s had seen a particularly virulent campaign against the holders of off-licences. The effects of such a policy can be seen in the reduction of on-licences in the period 1889-1938 when the number of licences per 1,000 of the local population fell from 4.5 to 2.3. Although the active supporters of temperance were a small grouping their influence on the young and their access to the legal controls of the local state made them a substantial force.[5]

The messages of the Band of Hope, the Rechabites and other anti-drink societies had pointed to drink as a prime cause of poverty and family strife, rather than seeing the reverse relationship. Many in the sample, including the children of tradesmen, skilled workers, foremen and schoolteachers, as well as railway porters and mill

labourers, held views about their surroundings which were powerfully influenced by such beliefs. Whether or not these individuals had first hand knowledge of alcoholism or drunkenness, they seem to have seen poverty as a natural corollary of drink. For those individuals who made this connection there was often a profound distinction drawn between what were seen as the lives of the selfish and morally bankrupt drinkers on the one extreme, and on the other the more wholesome and dependable ways of the abstainers. Some, who had more direct experience of the problems caused by drink presented a qualitatively different story, in which fictitious tragedies were replaced by those within their own family. Two of those interviewed recalled a profound determination to avoid the social and emotional disruption caused by drunkenness in their parental homes.[6]

In other instances, pubs were seen as disreputable, and anyone from a 'good home' going there might well place the respectability of their family at stake. For the more prosperous working class and also the middle class families who recoiled from drink, prime importance was attached to female abstinence. Religiously informed notions of temperance, together with more diffuse class related values about the role and 'place' of 'decent' women were generally at the root of such attitudes. One woman who came from a prosperous working class background, with a history of close chapel and church involvement recalled the strength of the anti-drink ethos within her family, and in particular their attitude to female respectability.[7] The whole of her immediate family saw the pub as a notorious institution, an interpretation which she evidently shared, especially in relation to her own sex.

> You never went in pubs, it was the lowest of the low who went...women who went in pubs, they hadn't good reputations. [8]

This common sense gender distinction, informed as it was by a mixture of religious and temperance based ideologies, had many parallels within the sample. For instance Mrs Watts, who came from a mill owning family recalled a firmly held taboo against drink, with the father as the main ideologue. She also remembered a specific warning that he gave her, which was to her, at that time, an unquestionable guide for acceptable behaviour.[9]

The majority of the people interviewed either drank or held no particular distaste for the subject. However, their attitudes did not constitute a simple opposite or mirror-image to those of the abstainers. In some cases taboos and value judgements were shared across this divide; for instance, many of the female non-abstainers shared the beliefs about the low status of women who went into pubs. However, they held them with certain provisos. If the woman was married and went with her husband or a relative this indicated a situation that was generally regarded as respectable. Even so, much importance was attached to being initiated into the pub by the husband. Going there before marriage without chaperone on the other hand, was fraught with the possibility of moral censure:

> Oh dear, you'd have been cheap if you'd have gone in on your own. [10]

The acceptable introduction was however not without its own form of unease:

> I felt awfully funny the first time I went in, even though I was with my husband. [11]

Much depended on the class of the pub, and whether or not there was

a snug or a music room where women could go without risking a slur. Emphasis was still on being taken,even though once in the pub the husband would go into the tap room or games room, his wife into the snug, and meet only for the last hour. One of the women interviewed who was a barmaid (after marriage) outlined the conventional wisdom in the following way:

> ...there used to be one room for men only - a tap room - there was a snug where only women went in, and mostly they were wives of the fellas in the tap room. And then there was what you called the singing room.[12]

This particular type of usage it seems was not only a feature specific to Rochdale; in the Mass Observation study, similar patterns were recorded. The observers, who looked at a number of pubs in Bolton, Lancashire, during 1937 and 1938, noted that often 50% of the occupants in the lounges and snugs were women, and that bottled stout was their main drink, usually bought for them by their husbands.[13]

The taboos surrounding such activity were in certain circumstances eroded, and even challenged. Some women did go to the pub alone or with friends without caring very much about how others would react. It seems to have been easier for older women to come to terms with prevailing mores in this way, not to mention the fact that she might well have more time and money once her family had 'left home'.[14] One woman recalled regular Friday lunchtime visits to the pub with a few friends from work. Her point is particularly interesting in that she went with other women from the ring-spinning room; they were not taken there, in the way described above. In one sense this single account is very special because such experiences did not emerge in other cases. Also she presented her story in a remarkably easy

manner; seemingly unbowed by the polarities of opinion expressed around the general topic.[15] Yet in an important way, the prejudices surrounding the issue were no doubt less pronounced as far as lunchtime drinking for women workers as a corporate entity were concerned. It could be argued that they hardly fitted the image of the soliciting woman presented in other accounts.

In *Poverty and Progress*, Seebohm Rowntree's second major social survey of York, there are a number of observations on gender and pub use, which as far as they go, corroborate with the above details.[16] In his chapter headed 'Leisure Time Activities', he includes a section on 'The Type of Persons Frequenting Public Houses'. Pubs in the poorer areas saw a 3 to 1 ratio of men to women, classified as regulars, whereas the larger, more modern houses, often equipped with a music room, had a proportion of 3 to 2 respectively.[17] In addition the poorer establishments catered for local customers with a definite attachment for one or more pubs in their neighbourhood; the bigger houses on the other hand tended to take custom from a much wider area. Rowntree's earlier study, *Poverty*, entailed a supplementary chapter listing observations made in three pubs, two serving poor areas and one a wealthy locality.[18] In the latter pub three-quarters of the customers were men, whereas in the poorer houses they made up two-thirds of the clientele. Clearly if the two Rowntree studies are compared, then women seem to have accounted for an increased proportion of custom. A decade before the publication of *Poverty and Progress*, a distinguished committee, including Professor A. L. Bowley, Sir John Mann, B. S. Rowntree and F. D. Stuart, had made reference to similar changes, and did so on the basis of a national enquiry.[19] Their report,

published in 1931 made a marked effort to engage with the overall context of drink, not least the paradox of a rise in the standard of living for many of those in employment, alongside the curse of mass unemployment.[20] The pubs, especially the more modern and improved examples, were able to present an improved image, more amenable to the part of the population with money to spend yet sensitive to matters of public respectability. In this respect Rowntree's observations made toward the end of this decade are particularly apt. The newer and bigger pubs in York, equipped with music rooms had them filled with a clientele predominantly under the age of 30. What is most significant is the fact that there was such an equal balance in terms of gender.[21]

Male Drinking

Female drinking, if it was not to provoke censure, had to conform to certain preconceptions. Equally, drinking for young adult males could lead to problems, even amongst those with fathers who drank regularly themselves. Of the men interviewed seven spoke of parental censure.[22] In all of these instances the father had applied considerable pressure to make sure they did not drink. For Mr Thornton and Mr Walker drink was out of the question until the age of twenty, even though they enjoyed regular wages.[23] Mr Rhodes, from a poor Catholic home had been told by his father not to enter their local pub, even at the age of 24; if he had gone in his father swore he would walk out.[24] Mr Tatham, from a relatively prosperous working class background recalled that his mother 'turned her nose up' at him as he came out of the pub his father had frequented for

years.[25] In a more extreme case, Mr Allwork spoke of a very real threat of physical violence from his father:

> You daren't go in a bloody pub. If you'd have gone in a pub and somebody'd have told him he'd have murdered me. [26]

He did not go drinking while he still lived with his parents even though he brought in a regular wage. Instead he only felt able to go to the pub once he had left home to get married. Two other young men attempted to avoid trouble by being as discrete as possible about the drinking they did do. Mr Redfern travelled a few miles by tram, away from home so that he could have a drink, with the reduced threat of his father finding out.[27] A second, Mr Warburton, remembered a greater degree of flexibility on the part of his parents as pubs in themselves were concerned, but they did not like the idea of his having girlfriends who went there. He recalled that his parents, with a small business of their own, had firm ideas about his own future; as far as they were concerned,

> ..any nice girl wouldn't dream of going into a pub, nor would she be seen with a cigarette. [28]

But the fact that as a young adult he rarely took girls with him to the pub rested less upon these sentiments than the problem of finance. For him the etiquette was that any girl he took to the pub had to be paid for. Whilst his emphasis on taking the girl and paying for her could be said to ape a more respectable form of access - that of the married couple - the expense of it meant female companionship in the pub was limited to holidays and birthdays. When money did run short, the herbalist (there were three in Rochdale during the interwar period) offered cheap herb beer and fruit juices, in a congenial setting free of the stigma of the pub. These

premises catered for both 'on' and 'off' sales; in the former case chairs, tables, a bar and a piano provided a popular haunt for the young of both sexes.[29] For others such as Mr Rhodes, billiards, played in the Catholic boys club or the Temperance Billiard Hall offered an alternative source of the male cameraderie usually associated with the pub.[30]

A comparison between what interviewees said about themselves on the one hand, and their parents on the other, suggests a particular continuity. For both generations the importance of the link between the pub and adult male leisure is apparent.[31] Roughly half of the male respondents said they went drinking at least once a week, money permitting, the weekend being a popular time for a visit.[32]

Saturday night and lunchtime on sunday were important times for a drink, far more likely than evening drinking during the week. For one individual a daily routine involved going from work to his home to eat, and then on to the pub.[33] One respondent recalled that in his own suburban village it was the norm for workers at the local mill to go straight to the pub after work on Friday nights.[34]

Sunday night, echoing the importance attached to the family on this above all days, was the most likely time for the men who were married to take their wives for a drink. But this aside, married and single men alike seemed to attach great importance to drinking with a male companion. In some cases friends would call at the home, in others company would be found once at the pub. In each case there was a release from the family and the home and a return to a more individualistic reality reminiscent of the role of bread-winner in the workplace. Going out alone tended to set the scene for a particularly informal occasion and usually centred on a pub

or pubs in the locality.[35] Here neighbourhood ties and a smaller turnover of clientele made conviviality more likely.[36] But none of this should be seen in isolation from the sexual division of labour at work and in the home. Once the male wage earner had come to the end of his working day or week, he could look forward to his leisure, an important element of which was the pub. In other cases, particularly for the men who were helping to bring up a family, less predictable patterns formed. Those depended on a range of factors including their degree of involvement in the running of the home, and also how tired they were after a day's work. But the main consideration rested with how much money was available for drink.[37]

On the female side of the labour divide, the distinctions between paid work versus leisure, or childcare and housework versus leisure were blurred if not completely absent. The broad outlines of these gender differences were not confined to those from a single class or strata; they existed irrespective of such boundaries.

Pub Status

Just as these gender differences existed across class lines, the pub in Rochdale had a clientele which could not be defined by reference to a single social class or group. This breadth of appeal rested on the ability of the pub to offer facilities which were generally amenable and accessible; no less important though, was its capacity to cater for groups and individuals who identified themselves very differently in terms of status. Such divergences emerge in two ways, firstly in differences between pubs, and secondly differences within individual premises, *e.g.* taproom as opposed to snug or

lounge. In both instances the themes of respectability seem to have been important. At the lower end of the status scale a number of pubs were referred to as places where fights broke out frequently, or as being notorious for drunkards, or as places where prostitutes went.[38] A few town centre pubs were seen to fall into this category, together with the houses that served the Mount - an area of poor housing to the north.

At the top of the ranking came the pubs considered most respectable, such as the Clock Face Hotel, which was a venue for such improving groups as the Rochdale and District Cyclists Association during the decade before the First World War.[39] The same pub held a special place in the weekly routine of one of the interviewees. On Sundays as a young man, he would put on his best clothes and sit in the pub lounge making one drink last the whole evening.[40] Other town centre pubs such as the Wellington Inn and the Flying Horse Hotel were both recalled as being more refined, as were many situated either in the more select areas or on the fringes of the borough.[41] In cases where pubs were situated, often as the focal point, in the semi-rural ribbon developments leading away from the town, local opinion was often less polarised. One woman, otherwise scathing about drink and public houses in general, respectfully recalled her own local, which was she thought, 'well kept' by the Liberal councillor for that area.[42] For some of the informants who drank, the decor and fabric of the pub interior was an important consideration; one interviewee spoke of the bare flagstone floors in his local pub in a way which seemed to sum up those negative feelings he now had about it.[43] Another, from a poor background, remembered a local pub because of its coconut matting which covered the stone

floor. This made him feel almost as if he were entering a private house, a feeling he preferred to those summoned up by bare stone, floorboard or sawdust.[44]

As well as a range of different levels of status marked by distinctions between pubs, there were those which applied within them. The importance of the latter, as between the use of the snug or music room, instead of the tap-room or public bar, formed one of the criteria for the assessment of a female drinker's respectability. But beyond this, there were the more general forms of social hierarchy expressed in adherence to etiquette. One woman recalled that the local branch of the Yates's wine lodge chain had two specific areas to its interior. The large room, of a size approaching a large church mission hall, had a split-level floor. People anxious to take advantage of the cheaper liquor prices at the Wine Lodge crowded into the lower half of the room:

> ...this was for the scruffs, but if you went up the two steps and sat at a table you were alright.[45]

The Pub as an Amenity

Apart from the sale and consumption of liquor, the pub in Rochdale hosted a variety of pastimes and events. In some houses the serving of food was an important addition to the usual service offered; in local establishments in particular, a plate of free sandwiches, occasionally handed around, or a hot pot supper, could help to cement the relationship between the landlord and his clientele.[46] Beans served on a saucer, with mint sauce as a relish were also offered without charge to evening customers.[47] One beer-house noted for its home brew gave such food each Thursday evening,

no doubt in an effort to entice some drinkers out of their homes during the week as well as at weekends. Free food, though important, was not the only form of enticement a local publican had recourse to. Occasionally exhibitions and fetes were held which played on an interest or pastime of the local community, such as pigeon keeping.[48]

Those wishing to reform the public house, from both within and outside the trade placed great store by the extension of such amenities. The serving of food brought pubs closer to an ideal based on the varied history of the inn, where liquor sales had for centuries been part of a wider range of services. The temperance campaigns in the 20 years following 1890 had resulted in much clearer legal guidelines being laid down on the issue; the 1910 Licensing Act required the holder to supply suitable refreshments, other than alcohol, at a reasonable price.[49] A Government committee, reporting in 1927 added further credence to the belief that food sales were a basic element of pub improvement; the better customer, worthy of an improved public house was seen as the one who would also require food:

> ...where a public house is improved and enlarged there is a tendency for the old clientele which used to frequent it to remove to another unimproved house while another and better class of customer who wants food and the other amenities which the improved house provides comes to take their place. Unless, therefore, the improved public house is successful in building up a food trade and attracting this custom (which in many town areas may not be possible) it is exposed to serious competition by the inferior houses in its neighbourhood. 50

Much of the approval directed toward such amenities by this committee can be traced back to the success it saw in the state managed pubs in the North of Scotland and at Carlisle. The importance of a good food trade was therefore one of the hallmarks

of a worthwhile house, a discription hardly applicable to the majority of houses in Rochdale. In these establishments a limited lunchtime.sale of food was added to by the provision of free food during the evenings. For those reformers with a relatively strong allegiance to temperance this could well have been seen as an incitement to drink; the free food played a major part in getting people there in the first place.

New landlords seemed especially keen to win over public opinion in their area. Depending on the prosperity of the landlord (or brewery) the newcomer would expect to mount some attraction. For instance, in a relatively prosperous area,

> ...on Wednesday evening last, Mr James Maden, who has recently taken possession of the "George and Dragon", Trub Smithy, gave a very substantial "Knife and fork" tea to more than one hundred and twenty neighbours and friends. After tea a very enjoyable evening was spent, several songs and various speeches being given by those present. [51]

In this instance, considerable kudos must have issued from the fact that the meal warranted a knife and fork. In addition, the event showed marked similarities with the celebratory meals and entertainments frequently arranged by the churches and chapels. This landlord no doubt achieved the good will of the neighbours and friends he invited; but also a very important bonus in the form of enhanced public respectability.

The pub was no less important as a centre for games. Provision for this differed from pub to pub, but many had a tap or games room; a decidedly male preserve with facilities for darts, crib or dominoes. Billiard tables were relatively rare, there being a prohibitive cost, a problem with size - many rooms were too small - as well as legal sanctions involved.[52] Instead, the Working Men's

and Boys' Catholic clubs were important in providing these facilities as were the political (Liberal and Conservative), Temperance and Church run clubs.[53] Equally, amateur football and cricket clubs were able to supplement their normal sporting activity by playing in billiard leagues against church and political club teams.[54] At least one wholly commercial billiard hall existed before the turn of the century, which quite possibly did much to popularise the game, before being overtaken by non-profit making institutions. Situated on Oldham Road, the hall served non-alcoholic refreshments and sold cigars to its clients who were encouraged to enter a handicap competition with the lure of cash prizes offered nightly.[55] For the customers at this and other 'day' billiard rooms it was however relatively easy to follow a game with a visit to a nearby pub.[56] Crown or Flat green Bowling was also a feature of a number of pubs in the town. A small piece of land covered with short-mown grass was often the scene for highly contested inter-pub team matches, as well as more friendly and impromptu games, played by regular customers.[57]

The day trip or outing was yet another aspect of pub provision. Usually a charabanc was hired for the occasion, the idea being an excursion to a seaside resort (often Blackpool) or some other place of interest.[58] The landlord or landlady was not automatically entrusted with the organisation of it, there being a shared responsibility in much the same vein as church and chapel recreation. The pub proprietors were indispensible though, in their role of suppliers of drink, usually bottled, to be consumed on board. They also played their part by administering savings or 'slate clubs' for some time before the event, so that each individual could look

forward to an amount of spending money during the trip. In the early 1930s the *Royal Commission on Licensing* included several paragraphs on the seemingly ubiquitous pub trip. It made note of the drinking habits which were associated with charabanc transport, and also made some mention of joint methods of financing by way of the savings clubs:

> It is a common practice for private parties hiring a charabanc for an excursion to load the vehicle with quantities of liquor sufficient (or more than sufficient) to meet their needs during the outing. Excursions of this kind, paid for on the slate club system, are not infrequently run in connection with licensed premises. [59]

Indeed the slate clubs referred to by the Commission provided the financial basis for parties, picnics and outings in many local pubs. Equally, when the annual Wakes holidays came people turned to the money put aside over the previous year. In Rochdale these arrangements seem to have been especially popular throughout the 60 year period; in 1897 for instance the going off clubs, based in the factories as well as the pubs, distributed some £16,500, mainly to millworkers.[60]

The pub was also a place where meetings of varying kinds could be held. For a small fee the landlord would allow a group sole use of one of his rooms. One of those people interviewed recalled that his local amateur rugby club met in a pub, and the local press offers ample testimony to similar use by sporting clubs of all kinds, including those directly linked with churches.[61] A trip to the pub was therefore essential for any journalist interested in getting information on teams and fixtures. One interviewee, an ex-reporter, said that his own local was a particularly useful source for his sporting column. With this pub as a base, Kner and Spel

competitions were held and professional runners were able to arrange races; in both cases betting seems to have been a popular option.[62] Clubs for people with interests or hobbies such as birdkeeping, although perhaps less popular than football or rugby were also frequent users of the pub as a meeting place; in 1891 for instance a Fanciers Society was formed at the Woodman Inn.[63] Besides these groups concerned with recreation were those which met for business purposes. For example, one of the women interviewed owned a fish and chip shop and regularly attended meetings of the Fish Friars Federation held in a pub.[64] Gatherings by political parties and trade unions were not, it seems, dependent on the pub; the weight of evidence available suggests that the cooperative guilds and the Labour and trade union groups met in rooms or halls which they themselves owned, rented or borrowed.[65]

Less formal gatherings were the mainstay of many pubs, particularly those in the town centre. Before the First World War, pubs in the Yorkshire St., Lord St. and Toad Lane areas were especially dependent on this type of trade, and anyone wishing to remain known in business circles would spend some time on these premises.[66] An interviewee spoke of her father and her husband - both local rentiers - transacting most of their business in town centre pubs.[67] There does seem to be some similarity between this aspect of the pub in Rochdale and the picture drawn by Brian Harrison. In his contribution to a survey of the Victorian city, he points out that for some urban dwellers, and particularly those involved in trade, the pub was an important prop in a struggle for self-advancement, and a likely basis for social contact for any newcomer.[68]

Gambling, though strictly illegal, was another feature of pub life in the town.[69] Even though the landlord would be held responsible in law, some played host to punters who would bet on crib or dominoes.[70] Prostitutes or what respondents referred to as 'loose women' also frequented some of the towns pubs.[71] Other activities less likely to ruffle publicly held moralities were hosted mainly by neighbourhood houses. The singsong was a particularly popular form which often emphasised the close identification between a local pub and its regular customers.[72] The usual venue for a singsong was the snug or the music room, a factor which should be seen in the light of the predominance of married couples enjoying this type of entertainment. Like the church and chapel, the participants came in groupings closely reflecting the family units of the neighbourhood: mothers with fathers, parents with grown-up children, fathers with sons and courting couples about to marry. In addition the singing depended to a large degree on local talent and desire, for the landlord provided a room, a piano and sold his beer; but people from the neighbourhood made the evening's entertainment themselves whether at the piano, singing solo, in duet or in chorus.[73] Alternatively, the larger pubs in the town centre offered free entrance to hear professional and semi-professional singers and instrumentalists in a more formal programme, often heralded by an advertisement in the local press. For instance in 1880 the landlord of the Flying Horse announced his latest concert booking:

> The proprietor begs to inform his patrons that he has succeeded in engaging, at great expense, Miss Ada Mortimer [the name printed large], the pleasing serio

comic and sentimental vocalist. Saturday and Monday evenings only. [74]

Geographical position was not however a rigid determining factor because some of the smaller pubs in the town centre offered pastimes more akin to the local houses. For instance the regular attenders at the Market House Tavern looked forward to a weekly 'Sods Opera' in which each drinker would be asked to sing, recite or otherwise entertain.[75]

The pub in Rochdale was vital as a place of leisure whether in the shape of the larger town centre establishments or those local houses dealing with neighbourhood trade.[76] Viewed collectively, there existed a range of differences between public houses in terms of size, status, geographical location, popularity and the amenities offered, so that it was impossible to think of one single pub type. On a national level in the interwar years the parameters to these differences were extended quite significantly by the coming of the improved public house. These larger newer houses represented a wish to accommodate and encourage the highest aspirations the drinking public had for their own respectability, while placating quite successfully a potentially hostile political establishment with the power of the state at its disposal. Increasingly during these years, the pub in its improved form was able to vie with the super cinemas and dance halls for a share of the same market offering a somewhat superficial luxuriousness.

Rochdale was no exception to this extension of the improvement in public houses; in the 1920s and 30s at least three purpose built houses were constructed, each having spacious accommodation in lounges and games rooms, planned at the outset to make partly

concealed drinking impossible.[77] The Flying Horse Hotel, rebuilt in 1924, boasted a smoking room, a commercial room and a parlour, plus a hall bar and first floor dining room. The local businessman who owned it seems to have paid particular attention to the fabric of the rooms; polished wood-block floors and oak panelling were specified.[78] However, as in the case of the brewery controlled pubs mentioned by Mass Observation, these advances brought with them certain tensions. Writing about pubs in 1930s Bolton, the authors noted that the newer public houses were scenes of conflict between the breweries' idea of maximum beer sales and landlords who

> ...think of the pub as a place of friends as much as a place of profits. 79

It would be wrong to overestimate the significance of these conflicts, because they were here present in a proto-typical form. Also, it should be remembered that during earlier consecutive decades of declining liquor sales there must have been some tension between the wishes of the breweries and those of the landlord who was actually in contact with the drinking public. The new improved public houses represented an increase in these oppositions, and, it could be suggested, they did so in a way which affected the trade as a whole during the inter-war years and beyond.

The history of the pub in Rochdale, together with that of the population it served were marked by differences. For many people drink was out of the question; for others it was not. To people of all classes the pub could be an important element in their leisure time, as long as they were able to retain their place in the social hierarchy by going to a suitably decorous establishment. For single women drinking in public could bring scorn, but for married women

it was quite acceptable to do so with their husbands, in the snug or the music room. The pub was an amenity of much importance in some neighbourhoods - it opened its doors for games, meetings, clubs, parties and celebrations as well as day-to-day gossip. Yet it was also a commercial organisation run for profit, under the surveillance of the state and answerable to the law. Before 1910 the pub had been under attack by the local licensing justices and the Chief Constable, who were egged on by the Council and the temperance lobby based on the local church. The interwar years were to see the role of the public house challenged further, not by its older rival, religion, but by the newer commercial forms of entertainment, such as the cinema and dance hall.

CHAPTER 8

THE CHURCH AS CENTRE FOR LEISURE

At first glance it might appear that the church in Rochdale enjoyed an unmatched importance in the lives of the inhabitants.[1] The onlooker might easily gain the impression of an institution whose presence extended to include every street, terrace and road, but which was also able to claim a profound degree of social influence unmarred by differences such as class and age group. Although evocative, this interpretation would be a misleading one to adopt, since the overall picture of the church-and-people relationship is far from clear-cut. Instead, it is better to ask a series of questions about the composition of this relationship, such as the nature of the appeal of the church and the level of support it had within the various social groups which made up the town's population.

Much of the appeal of the church as centre for leisure rested with its accessibility. This was so in geographical terms, especially for the tightly-packed areas of housing which could often include several places of worship, of different denominations, within the bounds of a particular urban village.[2] The church was also accessible in economic terms; for instance, working class children could secure a free place at a tea party, a picnic or on a day trip, by making sure they attended Sunday school regularly.[3]

The question of the identity of the groupings who made up the church's following, and of the depth of their attachment, go beyond issues of accessibility, but cannot be seen independently of them. The church in Rochdale was arguably a popular form, and this seems

to be reflected by the fact that all but one of the interviewees had been involved with it at some stage in their lives.[4] However, for most of the respondents attendance had been limited to childhood, there being a tendency - particularly amongst the working class - to desert the institution once full-time work began. One respondent, himself a longstanding member of a chapel, retained an impression that the majority of adult Rochdalians were not involved.[5] A rough estimate of church membership based on a variety of local sources suggest that in 1880, when the population of the borough stood at 67 thousand, less than 17 thousand were churchgoers.[6] Twenty years later, the majority of the working class, and therefore of the population as a whole were attending no place of worship nationwide.[7]

When compared to other types of organised leisure - such as the cinema, the dance hall, and even the pub - the church appears unique due to the high degree of self-management involved. The cinema was run on entrepreneural lines, with little if any direction from the audience, as to programme or cost of admission. The church on the other hand, saw popular participation not only in the 'consumption' of leisure, but also in the creation of the activities involved; the congregation largely facilitated its own recreation, rather than purchasing it as a commodity. A great deal of such activity in the church sprang from basic material needs. These could include the upkeep of the building and any extension or re-building work.[8] Such work, mainly confined to the years preceding the First World War, could offer a surprisingly strong focus for all manner of social events which were also meant to raise funds. Jumble sales, bring and buys, sales of work, cobweb socials,

concerts, slide shows, whist drives, dances,[9] pantomimes and bazaars were the perennial favourites where some balance was struck between making money, the social aspect of the event and the material and publicising effect it might have in the constant battle fought by the church to secure new recruits.[10] To some extent these events had a logic that arose from the need to fund-raise, but could not be reduced to it. The bazaars, sales of work and dances were important channels through which the institution could demonstrate its gregariousness, and make some contact with the many people who would otherwise be repelled by religion.

Not all events were focused on fundraising; some took place on a regular basis in the hope that they would make attendance for worship a more attractive proposition. Others less regularly staged were concerned with a more parochial form of celebration, either of the anniversary of the church, or another traditional festivity, such as the yearly Sunday School prizegiving ceremony.[11] Examples of the more frequently held activities included rambling, tea parties, trips, picnics, football, cricket, and less commonly, amateur dramatics.[12] The events occurring less often, such as the Whit Friday walks - which were followed by an afternoon of field sports and games - were a no less significant focus for activity.[13] Indeed, a special effort seems to have been made to make this day of festivity, in which everyone - parents and children - could take some part. The sporting aspect of the day consisted of races with an in-built handicap, such as carrying an egg and spoon, or two people running 'three legged'.[14] Winners were awarded small prizes of toffees or chocolate, and for those who were hungry or thirsty, there were pies, muffins and tea-cakes, plus soft drinks,

sweets, and tea. Each of these could be bought, but a significant amount of them were given in exchange for tickets, earned by previous Sunday School or church attendance.[15] An event such as this, far from being a means of fundraising, was an end in itself, warranting concerted effort to make money for months beforehand. The jumble sales and bring and buys financed not only the fabric of the church, but also allowed this especially popular religious festival to take on a more egalitarian appearance; the ability to contribute money, goods or time differed markedly, but the resulting benefits were shared. Trips, especially choir trips had the benefit of being run with the help of such funds, as did the sporting and amateur dramatic activities of a number of churches. In each of these cases, however, funds were initially apportioned to a far narrower social grouping than that associated with the field days.

Classes and Leadership in the Churches

Church-based leisure was democratic and participatory in the sense that the congregation had a say in organising it through their involvement in committees, clubs and groups. Yet, on the other hand, considerable material and political inequalities within each of the institutions tended to create a distortion of democracy in favour of the leadership of elite members. This leadership had two aspects, one traceable to a frequent financial dependence on the richer families; the other based around the social influence they wielded. Middle-class patronage was an important ingredient in church life in Rochdale. Each congregation

had its elite who, on the basis of varying degrees of personal involvement, would contribute to the subsidy of a perennial social activity, or towards an important purchase, such as camping equipment for the Church Boys Brigade.[16]

Such patronage was not uniformly present though; rivalry between churches was often paralleled by that between well-to-do families of the borough. Added to this plurality of leadership was a diversity in the particular form it took. In some instances a church relied on one very rich family, in others a small gathering of lesser entrepreneurs. In a very few cases, both bourgeois and petit-bourgeois vied for prime position. One instance was the Turner family who were major textile and asbestos manufacturers. They held sway at Baillie St. Methodist Church amid several highly 'successful' though perhaps less prosperous families. As an ex-member of the church commented, the Turners brought kudos to the church - simply by being there - but they also brought a measure of elitism and a desire for control, both informed by the world of work:

> The astonishing thing was that they worked in the place, they ruled it most certainly, they were autocratic to a degree, of that there was no doubt. And..er..the... offices open to laymen were invariably filled by their own nominees, many of whom, of course, worked for them at Turners. And it was said, sarcastically, over a long period of time, that...er, if you wanted to rise in the, er...Turner establishment at Spotland [the factory], you must attend Baillie St. Methodist Church. [17]

Much of their authority seems to have rested on their role as patrons inside and outside the church; during the year 1902, John Turner gave what the church handbook called 'generous support' to the building of the Queen Victoria Memorial Nurses Home.[18] His son, Samuel, made a gift to the borough of the family home and

grounds, which became a major municipal park.[19] Lesser families such as the Petries, who jointly owned a textile engineering factory, and the Duckworths, who made their money selling groceries, also provided financial aid, both inside and outside the Church.[20] Baillie St. Church was perhaps special in that it boasted the small, but also the large entrepreneural families. Although unable to match this array, many other churches did however exhibit a strong dependence on similar patrons. St. Clement's Anglican Church had its own gathering of well-to-do families as did St. Chad's Parish Church.[21] At Lowerplace Chapel brothers from a local family of builders financed and organised the Boys Life Brigade,[22] and at Dane St. Presbyterian Church, a millowning family, the Walkers, provided essential support for the amateur dramatics and overall running costs.[23]

Even though the material wealth of these families offered an important basis for their leadership, other factors were involved. A second major aspect concerns the moral sway which such families and individuals enjoyed. Within the churches, leadership by the Duckworths and the Turners did not depend solely on a financial or instrumental relationship; it was bound up with hierarchies of social status. These hierarchies existed within the congregation, often in implicitly contested forms, and they were equally formative outside the church. The interview transcripts viewed overall suggest a feeling of respect for the Sunday School and the church, although many did not attend after their mid teens. For middle and working class people Sunday School involvement was looked back on as a natural course of events, with many good perks attached; for only a few was there a profound religious motivation.

Children who went were usually sent by their parents, who seem to have operated, with varying degrees of conviction, on the idea that the institution would have an improving influence. The fact that most children went also seems to have been an important consideration, as was the belief that the child would benefit in recreational and social terms in an otherwise unyielding world. There also seems to have been a feeling about the innate respectability of the Church, especially where parents and their wishes for their children were concerned. Even though the wish to send a child to the chapel may have had more to do with material advantage than a conscious awareness of class, the existence of such structural factors cannot be ignored; in most churches the leading figures were either from the lower middle or middle classes.

The predominant families or individuals represent one common feature of the institutions dotted around the town; another relates to the educational activities entailed within the sphere of church-based leisure. The primacy of these dynasties, whilst not simply reducible to the existence of such civil functions, was registered and promoted within them. Much of the activities in the churches and chapels centred on relatively formal types of schooling, which included Sunday School classes for children as well as the current affairs and discussion classes for adults. At Lowerfold Chapel, for instance, great emphasis was placed on academic achievement, and those who succeeded within the institution or in the world outside, were afforded high status. Here, however, there was not necessarily any overlap between material wealth and achievement; scholarship was intrinsically worthy.[24] Sunday School scholars who had 'done well' in later life were held up as an

example, whilst at the same time, considerable emphasis was placed on the men's and ladies' improvement classes. There were variations within this broad educative theme - in this press report of a rather more festive gathering at another chapel, a more populist intention is revealed:

> The Conversazione as an experiment in the way of providing instruction with entertainment, was a success, and may well be followed by committee who often feel a difficulty in making such arrangement as shall fulfill both conditions. [25]

The room which had held a much larger attendance than planned was bedecked with flowers and oil paintings lent by worthy personalities named in the subsequent report. Miss E. Petrie - daughter of William James Petrie, Justice of the Peace and industrialist - lent her microscopes, and someone from the Rochdale Field Naturalists Society brought fossils and shells to be examined.[26]

The Sunday School teachers were of prime importance in most churches. In some instances great store was placed by competitive self-improvement; in others a more corporate ethos prevailed. In some instances, it was a major aim to work towards obedience and respect - or at least the outward display of it - in dealings with elders. Order and harmony were sometimes seen as jointly representing the pinnacle of achievement for the institution. As a retired Sunday School teacher wrote

> My memory was impressed with the famous anniversaries, the Whit-Friday treats, the watchnight services, and I hope your history will give some idea of the real warmth and enthusiasm that existed then...I have copies of the hymn books that were compiled and well remember the afternoon addresses with the boys on the left-hand side and the girls on the right. [27]

As ethical guardians, the Sunday School teachers were subordinate only to the leading families. When a person became such

a teacher it was an acknowledgment as well as an enhancement of their social standing. Such honours were not lightly bestowed and a suitable history of attendance, together with the desired qualities of reliability and respectability were important. The top families usually had some involvement with the actual running of the classes, and this was often in the form of direct management of the various instructors. For instance, Mrs Gilbert, a Sunday School instructor during her teens, registered her pride in her role within a particularly vibrant congregation. This involved her directly with two sisters from a prominent Tory family, who supervised the children's classes. She recalled a routine of attending a class which they ran each Tuesday evening:

> ...to be taught what we had to tell the children at the Sunday. [28]

Although there was a hint of wryness in her reconstruction, this seems to have stemmed from her dislike for the amount of power the family wielded, rather than the mechanical aspect of the teaching.

A second aspect of church activity which was influenced by the predominance of the middle class members, concerned the family, seen as a vessel of Christian values and also as a social and economic unit. In some congregations the centuries old practice of alloting family pews to particularly well-to-do families symbolised a mixture of sacred and secular ethics about the desirability and superiority of such social groupings. In one woman's account, two retailing families, one dealing in footwear, the other in jewellery, each had their own pews set apart from the rest of the congregation.[29]

Other features of the relationship between church and family included activities which were less overtly hierarchical. The Whit

Friday walks and field-days were arranged in a way which signified the unity of the congregation, focused around the themes of parenthood. The festivities were populist in that they included large numbers of people, probably including a majority drawn from the working class. The day engendered very powerful representations of the importance of parenthood irrespective of social strata, even though material differences were substantial. Whit Friday presented a challenge to even the poorest of families to be able to provide for their young ones, if only in the form of a hand-stitched dress, or a or a handed down pair of shoes. Sacrifice, in order to make this day possible, was very much a matter of pride for most working class parents; it was a way of turning aside, however momentarily, the pressure of material hardship. Hopefully there would be a glimpse of a quite 'different', imaginary order of things, during a day of corporate pomp and show. In this rather flowery report by a local journalist, there are some reflections on the celebrations of 1880:

> [The young members of the congregation] may attire themselves in garments befitting the season of gladness, and after a grand parade through the streets in the presence of crowds of admiring parents and friends, betake themselves to some patch of greensward and there enjoy themselves with innocent *al fresco* recreation to their hearts content. Sad indeed is the little heart that cannot share in the merriment of the day, and cruel must the parents be who do not make some little sacrifice if need be, to enable the children to join the happy throng. Never is the muster-roll of scholars larger than on these occasions. [30]

The Whit Friday activities revolved around the children, and particular importance was attached to the presence of the girls.[31] The mother-daughter relationship was of particular significance here; for the poorer families this could mean a lot of hard saving

in the months beforehand, so that a dress - new if possible - could be worn. Alternatively, mothers would make a dress from new material or from pieces salvaged from older clothes.[32] Some idea of the importance of the event is conveyed by an interviewee who remembered having a white frock bought for her. Her mother paid 2/6d for it, which was a significant outlay in a working class home, generally concerned with securing basic necessities.[33] Another interviewee recalled being dressed up for the day and then being sent to call on the neighbours; they usually gave her a ha'penny or a penny and thus fulfil their part in the ritual.[34] A male respondent remarked that the girls at St Patrick's (Roman Catholic) Church always wore white dresses and put their hair up in ringlets. His mother kept little baskets of flowers in the cellar overnight so that his sisters should be able to carry a fresh posy on the big day.[35]

For the adults in the congregation the improvement and discussion classes were important forms of individual rather than familial involvement. Although they were often called 'young men's' or 'young ladies'' classes,[36] the age range included those in their late teens as well as those in their forties.[37] Not all churches had these gatherings, but where they did occur their size and popularity varied. Before the First World War, a large and popular church such as St. Clement's could see 120 members in the young men's class, whereas lesser congregations had between 20 and 60.[38]

Meetings were held each week, usually on a Sunday afternoon when guest speakers would be invited. Local celebrities would give a short talk on their work, and then take questions.[39] Some sessions were less lighthearted than others; at one chapel the chairman, a regular speaker at the young men's class, was also the Chief

Education Officer for the borough.[40] Ladies' classes often took up themes concerning travel, the home or literature. At Milton St. Methodist Church in 1900 there was what the local press described as a 'fairly good attendance' at a ladies' meeting where

> W. W. Shaw talked about books.[41]

The classes appear to have relied very much on the role of the speaker or the person in the chair, the centrepiece being their representation of a subject or topic, with wider participation limited to the asking of questions.[42] For some gatherings a recent news event could be the basis for discussion. One interviewee identified particularly strongly with what he felt was the a-political nature of this type of forum. He recalled that during the 1920s there was a short address from the chairman about a police raid on the Russian Embassy. A debate followed which - to his belief - rested on the question of what was right and what was wrong, but couched in moral terms rather than in political ones. For him it was always important that the discussion developed so that there was

> Never a political slant on it...more of a moral one.[43]

He clearly took for granted the distinction drawn between moral and political issues.

Social Divisions within the Churches

It would be wrong to suggest that in each of the churches there was a congregation unproblematically held to a subordinate position by an all powerful influential elite. The leadership that did exist - fuelled as it was by material resource and a particular

access to notions of respectability - found itself within a social context displaying disunity as well as social accord. This mixture, profoundly structured by differences within as well as between classes, meant that in some churches, cliquishness and snobbery bred factionalism and rancour. Divisions had class at their heart, but were often not apparently synonymous with such factors; many better off members of the working class identified with the prosperous and venerable against those lower down in the social hierarchy. Some of those interviewed remembered feeling both hurt and angry about the rejection they had experienced at church. For instance, Mrs Barker, who went to a Unitarian Church retained a feeling of disdain for the cliques she encountered there.[44] Mrs Masters, who attended a local Anglican church recalled the unspoken class distinction between those who owned shops and those who worked in factories. Even though she had gone there regularly before marriage, she was shunned by the people she knew in the congregation when she attended after several months absence to look after her newly born child. At her local church Mrs James remembered a mixture of social backgrounds in the congregation; yet there were two main categories for her - those who had to struggle economically, and those that had not.[45]

The way in which a person was dressed often determined their social standing within a congregation. Sunday-best clothes could help to make a relatively poor working class family more acceptable, but for those who could not extend their resources to this extent there was sometimes a feeling of inferiority:

> There was no great attraction, you know...quite often you didn't like to go because your clothing wasn't in the same street as the other children, who were going from better people, better class people .[46]

Another respondent remembered playing football for the chapel, but avoided the services and classes because he felt self-conscious about wearing clogs, rather than shoes:

> We mostly wore clogs, well, er, you were more or less looked upon as poor children, you know, and, er...you didn't feel like, because other people what were going, you know, they was going a bit more smarter, and then they had shoes on and you know, they were better. 47

For those working and middle class members belonging to one of the cliques within a congregation, the major benefit came in the form of an ability to exclude anyone who was considered inferior. These sub-groups could rest on a relatively informal set of acquaintances, and often had a member of a well-to-do family as a key figure.[48] Membership of a drama group or a debating society within a church was seen as a way of achieving a suitable degree of selectness. However, access to a clique was not the only avenue to the achievement of higher social status. Some churches were seen as being more prestigious than others; Mrs Rigg refered to her church as having 'a better class of people'.[49] She felt that as a young office worker she identified more with this particular congregation, than others nearby.

Social hierarchies existed within the congregation of a church, but they also existed between the various religious institutions. One individual account indicated a denominational ladder, each rung of which was marked by a left, right or centrist political persuasion, and this was in turn seen as synonymous with differences in social class. At the top was the Church of England, and at the bottom, the Primitive Methodists; the Roman Catholics did not figure in his assessment:

> In those days, if you went to the Church of England you were a Tory. Whilst most Methodists would be Liberal, the 'Prims' [Primitive Methodists], if not Socialist, would be

> radical; the United Methodists would be at the centre, comparable with the Liberals of today. And I think the Wesleyans, when I look back, I think there were a fair amount of Tories because they were nearer the Church of England. [50]

Mr Tattersall is not alone in outlining such factors; Robert Roberts offers a similar account of the denominations in The Classic Slum. The social gradings outlined above, coupled with a good deal of competitively perceived fundraising activity, meant that any social leadership displayed a degree of plurality. On the one hand the Turner family, prominent at Baillie St. Church, and the Howarths, equally so at Lowerplace Chapel, could be seen as rival and socially diverse members of the middle class within the borough. But on the other hand, this was conditioned by the fact that political alliances were built up between town councillors across church boundaries. For instance local Liberal politics was throughout the sixty-year period populated by a series of Methodists bound together by family alliances spanning a number of churches.[51]

Why People Went to Church-based Events

Children went because it was often taken for granted that they should go; interviewees spoke of it being the 'recognised thing', the 'done thing', or confirming the 'natural course of events'.[52] Children were a section of the population who were above all encouraged to attend the Sunday schools and group activities based there. In some cases a combination of tacit assumption and force of habit backed by parental pressure, saw to it that the child went; yet few continued after starting full-time work with its greater demands on time and opportunities for commercially provided

leisure, and still fewer did so once married. Roberts suggests that in Edwardian Salford parents did the next best thing to attending themselves, by sending their children, and that increasingly secular consciences were salved in this way.[53] However, a further explanation could be offered. The Rochdale Sunday Schools seem to have been connected in popular thought with personal improvement and, to a lesser degree, with scholarship. Most parents seemed to view the church as a place where their children could actively benefit themselves; for some the material perks were paramount, but others saw it as a civilising influence. In the midst of a harsh and often uncompromising environment, the Sunday Schools were seen as offering the chance of a sober, edifying and disciplined antidote; a slightly better start in life. No doubt some children were sent on the basis of religious convictions though this seemed to take second place to the secular concerns already mentioned. Rather than seeing such attendance simply as an attempt to retain by proxy some part of a truly religious past, there should, it seems, be some consideration of these positive, though secular motivations.

Other aspects of the church and people relationship were also informed by a degree of instrumentality. In one respect the entertainments and treats mounted by the church could be said to have fostered a pragmatic, secular link. The people did attend, but as Hugh McLeod has pounted out it became increasingly difficult to hide the fact that where the church had an organising function for leisure, the outcome was compromised secularity rather than spiritual conversion.[54] In Rochdale the church was clearly important as a social centre; indeed the majority of the interviews suggested an emphasis on this aspect to the exclusion of the religious function.[55] In some

instances this relationship with the church rested on the provision of certain very basic facilities in working class neighbourhoods where public resources were otherwise minimal. Such circumstances could bring about very pragmatic, and far from ideal forms of contact. As a woman respondent remarked:

> ...well, it was cheap and it was warm and it was somewhere to go... [56]

For others it had more specific ends. One man recalled that during his teens he went with the aim of meeting a girlfriend.[57] During these years he was studying at the local grammar school and seemed to be less concerned with the dance halls and cinemas than were his poorer working class contemporaries. Twelve of the respondents relied heavily on the church as a centre for leisure in their teens and twenties. The majority of these respondents came from middle class or prosperous working class homes, and each sought a socially exclusive addition to the popular commercial forms.[58] During childhood however, the church seems to have offered the chance of free leisure to even the poorest, and for some, regular attendance would be on the basis of a reward such as a trip, a picnic, or access to the Whit Friday Field.[59]

The church was important for those who wished to become involved in amateur sport. At Castlemere Methodist Church the regular Men's Institute included a self improvement class run in tandem with an indoor games group.[60] However, rugby, cricket and football were more commonly found, and the majority of congregations fielded an adult or junior team, and sometimes both. Two Anglican churches took the lead in amateur Rugby in the borough. In 1869, two adult teams, St. Clements and St. Chads played each other; by 1891 between 10 and

20 such matches took place per week between similar teams in the Rochdale area.[61] The Sunday Schools were particularly active in their promotion of rugby; their development followed that of the adult teams and during the interwar years outstripped them. For example, on one weekend in 1922 the Rochdale and District Sunday School League organised 32 matches involving the 50 local teams.[62] The churches were equally involved with cricket; a local journalist wrote that;

> ...one can scarcely find a church or chapel without a cricket club.[63]

The cricket clubs though, seem to have shared a slight decline in the interwar years.[64] Association football showed a steady increase in popularity from the start. St. Clement's church members were early players in a team which in the season of 1887 played 30 amateur matches in Rochdale and South East Lancs.[65] By 1933 the Sunday School Leagues had developed to the stage of arranging between 20 and 30 games per week.[66]

The Sunday School League for rugby and football were particularly strong and active throughout the period. For some boys[67] the prospect of being able to play on a church team was the only attractive feature of the institution. As one respondent noted, the reason so many of the Sunday School classes were well attended, could in part be related to their importance as centres for sporting activity:

> Unless you went to that particular Sunday School or went to some other, where you got a mark, an attendance mark, you couldn't play, you see; that was an added draw.[68]

In return for regular attendance, boys would be considered for a place on the team, an honour which was much sought after. The games were staged regularly, and they were seen to be a cut above the impromptu street matches; there would be a referee and a pitch, and the arrangement of matches within the League could result in particularly strenuous competition to retain a place near the top. For one of the interviewees, the chance of playing regularly on the team of his local chapel was the only positive aspect of his link

with organised religion. His clothes and footwear were often so shabby, that he did not attend the Sunday School for fear of being ridiculed. He did, however, manage to flout the convention of accumulating attendance marks before being allowed onto a team because he was a good player. Once on the field, dress and footwear were less important than the game.[69]

The existence of the church as centre for leisure rested on a combination of two factors. Firstly, it could offer a range of activities that were usually group-based and were without charge or available for a minimum outlay. Secondly the church was an institution which despite being alienated from the majority of working class adults, still retained some link with people of all classes. Many of the working class interviewees indicated that they and similar parents took it for granted that they should send their children to Sunday School, even if they had no thoughts of attending themselves. The strength of the Sunday School as a cultural form is testified to by the fact that there existed a Socialist Sunday School.[70] Given the particular flavour of secular humanism involved, it might have been more reasonable to call the organisation by some other name, such as Sunday class, or Sunday group; however, the term Sunday school was retained together with many of the trappings which reflected the Christian counterpart.[71] The remarks of two ex-scholars suggest that the Socialist forms were no more successful at retaining support from the bulk of the working class than were the churches.[72]

A belief in the good side-effects of Christian teaching, together with the added perks of corporate leisure, plus the desirability of getting the children out of the house, were factors combining

to shape working-class patterns of church attendance. On the other hand the prosperous and upwardly mobile sections of the working class were more likely to continue attendance into adulthood and they seem to have gone, partly on the strength of the facilities offered, but also with an idea of the possible fit between the improving aspect of the institution and their own social aspirations.[73] In his survey of the labour aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh Robert Gray suggests that the institutions of the 'artisan stratum' of the working-class

> ....were contained within a social world dominated by the middle class...' but that 'working men eager for "self-improvement", but loath to accept patronage could perceive this situation as one of bargaining, rather than one of social subordination .[74]

In Rochdale the social hierarchies, the sectarianism and the plurality evident in church life seem to have combined to foster a continuing negotiation between the poles of working-class sovereignty and total subordination. The leading members of the class - the skilled and the better paid workers - were in the main wary of becoming beholden to those who offered patronage and leader-ship, and there is little evidence to suggest the purely calculative and instrumental attachment which is indicated in Gray's treatment of Edinburgh. What does emerge is a partial acquiescence in the church's representation of, and function within, the sphere of improving, educational activity.

The middle and lower middle classes, who usually provided the financial backbone and retained much of the initiative in the sphere of moral authority, seemed to place emphasis on sustained contact between church and family. The support given over years and sometimes decades, was often substantial and creative, but could erode incipient forms of democracy, in combination with direct organisational power,

and social sway. For some of the middle classes though, there was less emphasis on such a role, and more on the need to be sociable and to be moving in the appropriate circles. Thus there was a distinction between families such as the Turners, powerful at Baillie Street Methodist Church, and others less keen to take on an organising and leading role.[75]

The factors which motivated people to be involved with the church were partly instrumental and partly altruistic, *i.e.* for the good of one's children, for the 'community', or for the nation. Each class displayed a mixture of calculation, consent, and even deference. For the working class this balance was informed by an agenda of constraints laid down by the economic realities of everyday life, though it cannot simply be reduced to the effects of such conditions. For working class children the church provided access to cheap and sometimes popular leisure activities, whilst the routine of the Sunday school retained a widespread, if shallow, adherence, perhaps originating in the years of church-run education previous to the 1870 Act.[76] The bulk of the working class attenders were continually involved in an implicit negotiation between a desire to make the best of the facilities offered, and the pressure to become fully absorbed into a wholesale acceptance of the ascendancy of the manners and preoccupations of their middle class mentors.[77] As far as those from the upper levels of the working class were concerned, the church could represent a useful leisure resource well into adulthood, enabling the individual to move in relatively select social circles often absent from the mass entertainments such as the early cinema and commercial dance halls.

From the 1890s onward the commercial forms such as the variety

theatre, cinema and dance hall were making their presence felt. In Rochdale they did so against the background of a church frequently deserted in their favour.[78] This was in part a result of the pull exerted by these newer leisure forms, but it was also related to two aspects of the churches themselves. Throughout the period the church had lacked rapport with large parts of the adult population, and especially the working class portion of it. In addition, some of the churches had lost their leading families to more picturesque areas of the country. When they departed they took with them their financial support and also the status which, for some, was a decisive part of the overall credibility of the church.[79] The significance of church-based leisure rested with its relative social and geographical accessibility, its cheapness, and in the case of the Whit-Walks, a supportive connection with popular modes of consciousness in the spheres of family life and gender. Increasingly the newer entertainment-directed forms were able to entice those who had been involved as well as those who had long been uncommitted. Here, to be instrumentally attached was part of an implicit commercial logic, rather than a result of a compromise with what was expected.

CHAPTER 9

NEW AND OLD FORMS OF LEISURE IN ROCHDALE

In the Rochdale of 1939 the list of leisure-based institutions was quite different from that which existed in 1880. In the latter year the relatively new form of the music hall shared popularity with the pub and the church. By 1939 this picture had been transformed; the pub still remained, but had shown considerable change and improvement; the church also retained some influence, but was a shadow of its former self. In addition the combined effects of the dance hall and cinema had sealed the fate of the music hall by out-selling it. The 1890s brought with them the gramophone as a boost to leisure in the home. An increase in home-based leisure in the 1920s and 30s was fostered by the radio. Scores of clubs and societies, most of which pre-dated 1880, were still present by 1939, though some-what transformed in nature and scope. The routines of holiday time which had for years revolved around the church, were by 1880 largely secular and more dependent on the timetable of the railway company than the religious calendar. Prostitution and off-course gambling both continued seemingly unaltered throughout the period, although the forces of surveillance and law ranged against them were far from unchanging. The 60 years under study witness a growth in leisure provision within some of the older institutions, and partly - and more dramatically - due to the newer, largely commercial concerns which were to shape, but in turn be shaped by, local habits and preferences.

Holidays: Past alongside Present - Fairs and Railway Excursions

Although the holidays were a yearly event for most people,

they were nonetheless an extremely important element in the lives of Rochdale people. Holiday trips were clearly of a different order of regularity to those concerned with the cinema, but in each case problems of access - of time and money - were a reality. There were many ways in which people could 'make do' and create a pleasant break in routine even though resources were limited. There was thus a significant market for holiday travel in Rochdale throughout the period. The annual holiday was a corporate affair; on a set day in mid August, mills, factories and workshops would close for what was known as Rushbearing Week[1]. The majority of people could not afford to travel, or find accommodation for the week, so that the major focus for activity remained local. Each year a travelling fair was held on an area of land off Newgate, and for those who could afford little else, it offered a welcome diversion.

Up until the middle of the nineteenth century the fairs had been closely associated with the day of drunkenness and rowdy behaviour which surrounded the festivities of the rushbearing parades. Religious opinion, Non-conformist in nature, had long opposed the processions, but once the law had been directed against them the hue and cry had died down. The fairs that survived were then to become the prime target for scorn and blame for the corruption of morals, and the demeaning sights and sounds which they entailed. The *Rochdale Observer*, the pro-Liberal newspaper, had on previous occasions contrasted the processions with what it saw as the more wholesome habit of travel to the seaside,[2] carried yet another message in its holiday report of 1882:

> It is not a pleasant theme, when one recalls its grinding music, its stenches, and its disgusting sights and sounds. It is a lingering relic of a bygone age, and will inevitably disappear never to be revived.[3]

The article then went on to talk about the charms and benefits of a railway excursion to the seaside, (a relatively recent feature of local life) compared to the fairs which were well established by the end of the eighteenth century.[4]

This evocation of two types of holiday-making - the old versus the modern, the degenerate versus the worthwhile - is present in the reporting on Rushbearing Week throughout the first half of the 1880s. The extent to which such representation either fuelled, or was a result of social change is difficult to detail, but for many of the townspeople, choices seem to have been made on much more pragmatic grounds. The fair remained a popular alternative for those unable to get away, and for those who still had some money after a day trip. In 1880 the fair consisted of a mixture of stalls, exhibits and entertainments; these included some Mexican knife throwers, a ghost show, a sparring saloon, a fat woman, performing canaries and hares, plus an exhibition about Charlie Peace, the criminal. The proceedings were grudgingly recorded as having been 'as much in vogue as ever', which is not surprising since fewer people seem to have gone away because the preceding months had seen depressed trade and reduced earnings in the local mills.[5] The years between 1880 and 1939 included several times of harsh economic circumstance, coinciding with a marked decline in holiday traffic: in this respect the periods 1908-10 and 1930-3 are particularly notable.[6] In these years the fair represented something of a consolation for those who had to stay at home, although it did so increasingly in a more sober style.

People were going away for a day or longer in increasing numbers, even though there were fluctuations within this upward trend. In 1880 over 9,000 people bought tickets through groups such

as the Band of Hope, the Sunday Schools and the Coop, and added to this would be the figures for direct booking with the railway, which were not reported that year.[7] Eleven years later the local press remarked

> Every year Rushbearing becomes a less stay at home holiday. This year nearly 20,000 people have taken advantage of the holidays to rush away to the seaside or the pleasant inland resorts for change and recreation. That is a number that has probably never been exceeded in previous years, if indeed, it has ever been equalled. The many excursions arranged by the railway company, or the cooperative or other societies were all well patronised. Those organised by the Pioneer and Provident Cooperative Societies were especially successful. The former sold no fewer than 4,314 tickets (including 2,257 for Blackpool) and the latter 2,990.[8]

Smaller businesses were also able to make the best of a situation in which

> Demand for tickets exceeded supply by some hundreds.[9]

A Mr Douglas who had a stall in the market place sold 800 railway excursion tickets to Blackpool, 200 of which were for 10 days' duration. The combined sales of these agencies contributed to the large exodus, when more than one quarter of the population of Rochdale went away for a day trip, or for a longer stay.[10] The figures for 1901 and 1902 showed that 23,000 and 28,000 people respectively, went away, which in each year had accounted for less than a third of the population.[11] These totals, which included passengers carried on behalf of the Coop, Thomas Cook, the workmen's excursions and church trips, signalled an improvement on the peak years of the '90s, but preceded a difficult period towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. Between 1909 and 1911 there was a marked reduction in the number buying tickets.[12]

In the inter-war years there was a similar pattern of sporadic development in the market for holiday transport. In 1922 for instance,

a total of 50 holiday trains left Rochdale station during Rushbearing Week.[13] A decade later the scene was very different, for the railway companies and coach operators suffered a pronounced slump in trade especially on the longer runs.[14] It was not until 1934 that the excursion business began to recover; in that year no fewer than 100 trains left Rochdale for seaside and inland destinations during holiday week, and motor-coach operators celebrated record traffic.[15] The railways were selling more tickets for Blackpool than any other destination; this had been the case before World War One, but Rushbearing Week of 1922, when 20 out of the 50 special trains were bound there, offered a portent of the remaining inter-war years.[16] From the year 1880 the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, and after 1923 the London Midland and Scottish Railway, had provided holiday transport at a reduced rate.[17] However, from 1919 onwards, a series of small motor coach businesses showed themselves to be worthy rivals. Holt Brothers and Greenof and Shaw were two early concerns, initially offering trips to local places such as Hollingworth Lake and Hardcastle Craggs, and later to Blackpool or Morecambe.[18] By the early 1920s they shared a growing market with four other coach operators, but by 1934 three companies shared a position of dominance with their main rival, the London Midland and Scottish Railway.[19]

The development of these commercial institutions during the period is of course significant, but so too are the ways in which the public made use of them. Between the traveller and the railway company there was often an intermediary in the form of the Coop or Thomas Cook or on a much smaller scale, Mr Douglas with his stall in the market. The Coop and Cooks chartered trains themselves or sold tickets for excursions planned by the railways. This type of access

was particularly important in the years before the First World War, when the Coop was instrumental in extending the possibility of travel to large numbers of people. In 1901 for instance, nearly half of all the holiday tickets sold were for special trains organised by the Coop.[20] Clearly the Provident and Pioneer Cooperative Societies, with their many neighbourhood grocery stores often acting as travel agencies, were seen by Rochdalians to be acceptable go-betweens, and this was helped by their emphasis on provision for the cheaper end of the market. In 1896 the Equitable Pioneers Society sold tickets for its trips at every one of its branch shops until 7pm on the eve of Rushbearing Saturday.[21] A second but smaller group of organisers centred on the churches, working men's clubs, trade associations, trades unions, pubs and workplaces. In such cases it would be left to an individual to book the trip with the railway company, who would guarantee to make up any loss if an agreed quota of tickets were not sold.[22] During the early 1930s the London Midland and Scottish Railway was keen to stave off the competition of the coach operators for such group bookings. In the Manchester passenger district they regularly visited over 10,000 factories, sports clubs and institutes. In the year 1933 they employed 96 goods and passenger canvassers, and a total of 18 agents to travel around to schools, churches and other institutions in the conurbation in order to encourage the trade in group excursions, not simply at annual holiday time, but throughout the summer.[23]

The small scale, but nonetheless social character of such a group was reflected in the corporate nature of the day out; not an aggregate of strangers who happened to have bought a ticket for the same train journey, but rather a social gathering. For some a works

outing or choir trip was the only holiday they could afford. For others the choice was between a number of options each of which entailed 'making do' or 'making the best of things'. Hollingworth Lake was a popular resort for those who could not afford to go further afield. Transport was initially by railway, but later the coach operators began to create a market for themselves.[24] The fair, held near Rochdale town centre during the annual holiday was also popular - in 1896 the press remarked on its continued and increasingly orderly presence:

> The chief attraction in the town was the fair, an annual institution which has fully maintained its hold upon the "stay at homes", particularly the juvenile portion of them.[25]

The year 1896 was a relatively busy one for the holiday travel trades, but still the fair drew significant numbers; in 1910 when economic circumstances were less good, it was reported as enjoying large crowds.[26]

For those without a taste for the hubbub of the fair, the local pubs and clubs made slightly more of an effort to offer an equally cheap diversion:

> ...at several public houses and clubs entertainments were provided. In some they took the shape of concerts where singing and music were enjoyed and at others dancing was engaged in.[27]

In other respects the pubs were an important help for those who did save in order to get away; the savings or slate clubs were an important discipline for those prepared to save regularly, in small amounts, throughout the year. Trade union and workplace committees were also important in this respect, for although the annual Rush-bearing suggested the chance of an escape from the fatigue of the

daily round, it also meant negotiating a week of expenditure without pay.[28]

Only 4 million out of 18½ million insured workers in Britain were entitled to holidays with pay in 1937, but 4 years after the passing of the 1938 Holidays With Pay Act - the result of sustained trade union pressure - the total was estimated by Political and Economic Planning (P.E.P.) to be between 12 and 13¾ million.[29] Only 4 of the Rochdalians interviewed recalled having holidays with pay before 1939, yet the sample showed a significant usage of holiday and day trips.[30] Few were able to afford regular annual stays away from home before 1939. Neither Mrs Masters, nor Mrs Gilbert had been away from home for more than a day until they each got married, and in the latter case a two and threepenny Co-op trip took her to the sands near New Brighton in 1918, to see the sea for the first time at the age of 16.[31] Mrs Challinor recalled as a child having to 'make do' with picnics, and in the early years of her marriage, she went on holiday only once, in the relatively prosperous year of 1939.[32] Another woman was able to go on holiday only once in the years before the Second World War; as a child her family were too poor, and soon after marriage she was widowed.[33] For one of the men, a holiday became feasible only when he had begun work in the mill as a half-timer, although he had gone to Blackpool as a small child, with his mother and grandmother, whilst the rest of the family stayed at home.[34]

For these and other less prosperous members of the working class, there were a number of ways of breaking through the limits set by a lack of cash. Being a member of a group or organisation could often entitle a person to a cheap or even a free holiday. The

Industrial Welfare Society at Kelsall and Kemps Woollen Mill sent Mr Bailey on a free 'social education' trip to Dimchurch Public School; another interviewee, Mr Tetlow, went away every year on training sessions with the Territorial Army - he saw this as particularly important at a time when he was saving to furnish a new home.[35] In statements which mirror the written evidence cited above, interviewees also recalled the experiences of the choir trip and the Co-op and workplace excursions, all seen as necessary if not ideal forms of access.[36] Robinson's, a firm of engineers, ran a very popular day trip each year for employees and their families. For those boys and young men who could afford the fare to Douglas, on the Isle of Man, Colonel Cunningham's Camp was a rather militaristic but cheap and well equipped alternative to Blackpool, but no camps of this kind seemed to exist for girls and young women.[37]

Holidaying with relatives was a recurrent feature of life for 13 of the respondents, although it would be wrong to suggest that a cheap holiday was in every case the reason, since some of the more affluent individuals were involved.[38] It seems to have been immaterial that a relative lived nowhere near the sea; rural and urban areas of all descriptions - as long as they were some distance away from the towns of South-East Lancashire were seen as suitable. Another method of cutting costs was to take accommodation in a lodging house which offered half-board. This entailed paying for a bedroom, buying in food and having the landlady cook it in return for a small fee.[39] One man recalled paying only £1 15s per week for room and cooking fee for him and his wife at one of the Lancashire resorts during the late 1920s.[40] Self-catering accommodation could

be cheaper still, but cheapest of all was a cycling holiday, calling at the Youth Hostels situated around the country; in the 1930s a woman boasted that she and her husband had been able to travel and lodge on only 3/6d a day per person.[41] There seems to have been a good deal of satisfaction for those who managed to get away for a holiday, even if this was ill-afforded. The possibility of a change of scenery and routine were important inducements, but there was also a degree of pride attached to making a holiday - sometimes for a large family - on the basis of relatively small amounts of cash. added to this of course was the fact that the family were not left at home when it seemed that 'the thing to do' was to be at the seaside.

For those middle class and more prosperous working class individuals the range of options was less limited. Full board reduced the amount of time and energy the mother put into a holiday, and for some was the only acceptable form of stay, even if this meant a whole year of serious saving.[42] The higher up the social scale, the less strict was the preoccupation with the Lancashire seaside towns, although they were far from neglected.[43] Mrs Watts whose parents owned a cotton mill, went away every year and included London in her list of destinations.[44] For others a trip abroad was possible.[45] One skilled worker went regularly to a Lake District hostel run by the Holiday Fellowship, but with prices that the majority of workers could not have afforded, the hostel remained an exclusive attraction.[46] As P.E.P. pointed out in their survey of the holiday trades of the 1930s:

> The charges at the holiday hostels, run by voluntary associations such as the W.T.A. [Workers' Travel Association] and Holiday Fellowship.....left holidays still out of the reach of many families.[47]

Circus, Music Hall and Theatre

Rochdale had a trio of establishments offering drama or variety entertainment in the year 1880. On Newgate there was a permanently pitched circus tent which in one week in January was host to acrobats and trained horses, a talent competition, a pantomime and a baby show.[48] The Circus was owned by a Mr Jeffreys, who kept a sweet shop in an adjacent street, but also owned The Old London Music Hall on Drake Street.[49] Both establishments were in competition with a handful of pubs in the town who opened their concert rooms at weekends, to present singers and comedians; but by the mid-1890s The Circus had become well-established as the only regular provider of live variety entertainment.[50] A third concern, the Theatre Royal, staged pantomimes, opera and plays, and was at this time the only outlet for professionally performed drama and musical comedy.[51]

In 1882, the new owner of the Circus big top, replaced it with a wooden structure which took the name Circus of Varieties - a title which perhaps unwittingly described its debt to the circus tradition, but also to the variety theatre it was seeking to become.[52] As in the big top, no alcohol was served. The new building had no piped water supply, and the interior was very spartan. The stage consisted of a raised platform, which was without a procenian arch, and the seating consisted of rows of wooden benches anchored into an earthen floor.[53] Heating was provided by four large iron stoves, two placed either side of the stage, and two at the side of the hall. The behaviour of the crowd could sometimes match the roughness of the decor; if the audience disliked an act they threw orange peel.[54] The Circus changed hands twice more before 1888, by which time it had become jointly owned by three local businessmen: Smith, Lee and Hargreaves.[55] The

joint efforts of Smith, who was a steeplejack, Lee who kept the Roebuck public house, and Hargreaves, a local builder, led to a refurbishment of the building in 1890.[56] The whole of the gallery was re-seated and made more comfortable, whilst improvements were made to the internal colour scheme:

> Mr S. S. Ford of this town has thoroughly cleansed and re-painted the interior, and the whole has now a comparatively cheerful appearance.[57]

The three men continued to run the circus throughout the '90s, with a blend of entertainers which included comedians, instrumentalists, singers and some rather gruesome novelty acts such as 'The Man They Could Not Hang'. During this period the Circus of Varieties continued to offer entertainment at a lower price than the Theatre Royal. In 1888 for instance the latter showed a pantomime entitled 'Blue Beard', and sold tickets for between 6d and 1/6d.[58] At the Circus of Varieties, a bill of several performers was on view for 1/-, 9d, 6d or 3d.[59] In the early years of the 20th century, films were a feature at the Circus, although they did not replace live entertainment until later.[60] In 1907 Smith and partners sold the Circus of Varieties to the Jackson family, who were stage performers, as well as entrepreneurs. After two seasons they had the wooden structure demolished and replaced it with a brick-built variety theatre known as the Hippodrome. This was to exist on a combination of more subtly conceived live shows, together with silent films, until the difficult days of the 1930s, when it was turned into a cinema.[61] Four years after the sale of the Circus of Varieties, Hargreaves opened the Palace Theatre, which also offered a combination of film and variety until 1914, when popular theatre plays such as 'Nick Carter' (based on a detective story) and 'The Morals of a Mill-

girl' were shown.[62] The post-war years saw the Palace revert to a format of variety plus film, and by 1922 films accounted for all performances.[63] The Theatre Royal continued to offer live drama, plus the occasional opera or musical comedy, although in the lean years of the 1930s there was the introduction of variety and review, once the Hippodrome had become a cinema.[64]

The individuals who ran such places of entertainment combined capital with an ability to organise and popularise, but did so within a specific set of circumstances. The law, including local bye-laws and national statutes was a major factor in the shaping of these institutions. In the case of the established theatre the plays that were performed were liable to the censorship of the Lord Chamberlain. From 1888 onwards a newly empowered council watch committee regulated the theatre, but also the Circus of Varieties and Jeffreys Old London Music Hall on the basis of a series of rules.[65] They were to be closed on Sundays, holy days, and every night by 11.30 pm (Saturdays by 11 pm). Constables were to be allowed inside, but those recognised as thieves or prostitutes were not to be allowed entry. A final clause said that no contempt of the Christian religion, or tumult or riot, or offensive matter was to be engendered by things recited or sung.[66] Rulings which followed an 1866 Select Committee dealing with fire, safety and the structural suitability of buildings used for entertainment, were reproduced in municipal legislation, in Rochdale and throughout other parts of the country.[67] In 1888, Mr Jeffreys, proprietor of the Old London Music Hall, fell foul of the local laws on the basis that his premises were unsuitable for a gathering of people, there being only one entrance and exit to the building. The court made it clear that a music license would be granted only after

extensive alterations had been made, and were to the satisfaction of the borough surveyor.[68] The hall was open again in 1891, but within a decade the business had disappeared.[69] In 1897 legislation was directed at the Theatre Royal, when the manager was told he would be granted a 12 month license for stage performances, on condition that he did not apply for an excise (drink) license.[70] A similar proviso was attached to the granting of a dramatic license to Thomas Hargreaves for the opening of his new Empire Hall in 1903.[71] In each of these cases magistrates were acting in accordance with a borough council strongly motivated by Non-conformity, and ready to intervene, wherever practicable, especially to contain or defeat the demon drink.

Legal factors were important because they could set limits to the commercial success of a concern, and in some cases make them untenable. When the court demanded the physical alterations to the Old London Music Hall this probably pushed costs beyond a point where the venture was profitable. Drink licensing policy also had its effects; neither the Old London Music Hall, nor its rival, the Circus of Varieties, were allowed to sell alcohol, and starved of this income - vital for most of the large halls in London - takings were limited.[72] The Parliamentary Select Committee of 1892 considered evidence from 38 provincial halls which showed that the Circus of Varieties in Rochdale was, with capital put at £2,000, amongst the poorest. Only two halls, The Marina in Ramsgate and The Star in Bradford, held less capital, whilst 17 halls had between £10,000 and £65,000.[73]

When the first decade of the new century saw two purpose-built variety theatres open their doors, a new era in live entertainment began in Rochdale. The Empire and Hippodrome were different to what had existed previously not only because of the amount of capital

needed to build them, but also due to the fact that they were able to make a more serious claim to respectability than the Old London Music Hall, or indeed the Circus of Varieties. The Hippodrome combined this respectability with the popular appeal of well known stars, and became the prime local example of the variety theatre, which had existed in developed form elsewhere during the 1890s.[74] Performers such as G. H. Elliot, Sandy Powell and Gracie Fields were among those who played to audiences which seemed to be composed mainly, but not exclusively, of Rochdalians from working class backgrounds.[75] Family groups, couples and small parties of teenagers were each important elements within the audience, helping to create an atmosphere much closer to the Theatre Royal than the Circus of Varieties, the latter with its decor and turns reminiscent of the Big Top.

Due to the emergence of the cinema after the turn of the century, the variety theatre never really had a firm foothold in the town. After a change in management in 1908, the Empire saw an increasing proportion of films in its twice nightly mixture of variety and screened entertainment, until by 1922 it had become totally devoted to the cinematograph.[76] The Hippodrome lasted, with its combination of film and variety, until 1930 but even before this had been finding it increasingly difficult to cover the cost of a whole week's live entertainment, with the ampler takings of the weekend. The perennial problem of poor mid-week attendances, was particularly serious for the Hippodrome in its latter years in live entertainment. The manager, on his retirement in 1938, claimed that if enough seats could be added to an extended auditorium, in order to bring in an extra £50 on a Saturday night, then variety still had a future in the town.[77] This was perhaps an unrealistic suggestion when the focal point for local entertainment investment including that of his ex-employer, was the super cinema.[78]

The Cinema: Commercial Development

The years between the turn of the century and 1939 witnessed a period of rapid growth for the cinema. A medium once viewed for its novelty eventually became what was arguably the single most important form of local entertainment, showing to audiences which attended regularly and in sufficient numbers to make it commercially viable. However, these 39 years do not show an evenly paced, singular type of development; instead there were shifts in momentum dependent upon factors both internal and external to the industry, together with an early history marked by heterogeneity rather than uniformity. Four phases of extension can be distinguished. Firstly, the years between 1900 and 1905 saw moving pictures fostered as a novelty item by local entrepreneurs. From 1905 to 1910 the travelling exhibitors were pre-eminent, and from then until the coming of the 'talkies' in 1929, there was a considerable extension in purpose-built cinema accommodation. Finally, between 1929 and 1939 the super cinema ushered in a more glamorous form of entertainment at a time when local examples of combination, both large and small-scale, were in evidence.

In 1900 moving pictures were shown at three quite different venues. In September of that year film sequences were introduced alongside the more familiar bill of novelty and burlesque at the Circus of Varieties.[79] January saw filmshows at the Rochdale Trades and Domestic Exhibition, and also at one of Charles Parker's 'Saturday Popular Concerts' at the Provident Hall.[80] In 1901, Parker again hired the services of three local men - Inman, Holt and Woolfenden - to exhibit a combination of local and national news-worthy events, together with some ten minute dramas filmed in their

studio nearby at Milnrow.[81] At the Circus of Varieties, Hargreaves plus a Mr Tweedale had been showing similar items, the bulk of which were also produced locally. In December 1901 the Circus of Varieties showed clips to a capacity audience:

> Monday's viewing included the illustrations of a large number of military, naval and historic incidents and several local scenes. One of the last named group - a turnout of the Rochdale Fire Brigade - was especially realistic and it caused much enthusiasm in the audience. all the pictures shown are remarkably life-like and steady.[82]

However, by 1905 this local form of production and exhibition - the domain of the artisan - had made way for the travelling picture companies. These were regionally based and made frequent appearances in Rochdale, using halls hired for the purpose. Towards the end of 1905 New Century Pictures hired the Provident (Co-operative) Hall and sold tickets for 1/6d, 1/- and 3d with half prices on all save the cheapest seats.[83] January 1906 saw yet another concern, Pringle's North American Pictures, stay for a fortnight showing to audiences at the Circus of Varieties.[84] New Century Pictures was run by a trio of small businessmen: Sydney Carter - who owned St. George's Hall in Bradford - F. D. Sunderland - an ex fishmonger - and Walter Jeffs - a Birmingham showman. Pringles concern began when the ex Huddersfield variety artist and northern representative of Edison's Electric Pictures made his first exhibition of films in 1902. In that year he also bought a hall in Newcastle-on-Tyne, and later took his show to Edinburgh, Nottingham and Rochdale where he bought the Empire Music Hall from Hargreaves in 1908.[85] A third company, Golden Rays, made up a trio of travelling picture shows which were making regular visits to the town by this time.[86] Towards the end of 1908, Pringle was involved in a 22 week stay at the Public Hall which ended at Christmas.

Film and variety were being offered at the newly opened Hippodrome and intermittently at the Empire.[87] New Century pictures enjoyed a successful stay at the Provident Hall, cashing in on the popularity of the medium.[88]

The year 1910 brought with it a new phase of development prompted by Government legislation. The Cinematograph act required all cinemas to provide a projection room which was separate from the main body of the hall, and either lined with asbestos or built as an adjunct to the main structure of the building.[89] If such stipulations were not satisfied, licenses would not be granted. Over the next two years changes occurred that had been prefigured between 1908 and 1910; film content centred increasingly on drama rather than on the earlier documentary treatments, and the travelling exhibitors tended to concentrate on their permanent 'homes' where the necessary alterations could be made. However, in Lancashire and Yorkshire, as Mellor has pointed out, the travellers were competing with many small scale businessmen who had, like Smith Lee and Hargreaves, made early headway with live entertainment, but were now attempting to expand into cinema.[90]

By late 1910 the travelling cinema operators had disappeared from the town, but competition was nonetheless increasing as new permanent concerns sprang up. Variety and films continued to be offered by the Empire and Hippodrome, whilst in 1911 the Coliseum, and in 1912 the Pavillion had been opened, both offering cinema programmes.[91] The coliseum was owned by J. F. Moore and Monty Beaudyn who controlled another fifteen halls in and around Manchester.[92] Films were shown twice nightly for 1d, 2d or 3d entrance, and intending patrons could sit in what were termed 'well heated waiting rooms',

before the doors opened.[93]

The Pavillion boasted a small orchestra as its additional attraction and offered continuous performances, made possible by this live music. The Public Hall was at this time being used on a permanent basis by Lee and Ratcliffe in order to show films to two houses on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Saturdays.[94] By 1915 another establishment, The Ceylon, was showing films twice nightly plus matinees.[95] By 1918 there were seven commercial cinemas in the town, and in 1922 another - The Kings - was added, it being the only new venture begun between 1918 and 1928.[96]

For a few years before 1929 proprietors had been attempting to improve declining attendances by emphasising the length of their films, but when the talkies came - developed with their capacity to provide a novel attraction in mind - a new era began.[97] Initially however, only a handful of concerns were able to invest, and therefore exploit the new technology. During 1928 the Victory and Rialto super cinemas had been opened, the latter offering a cafe, a lounge, plus a well-appointed cinema with carpets and comfortable seating; almost a parody of the domestic sphere of the better-off middle classes.[98] In the following year both cinemas were offering soundtrack films in three way competition with the Pavillion. The popularity of the talkies was enough to prompt conversion to soundtrack equipment at the Empire De Luxe and King's Road cinemas by late 1930.[99] Eight years later all nine of the town's cinemas were wired for sound, a total which included a newcomer, the Regal Super Cinema, recently opened by the national circuit firm, Associated British Cinemas.[100] Jackson's Amusements owned five of the remaining eight, and H. D. Moorhouse, who owned around fifty halls in Lancashire controlled the

Victory, leaving only two cinemas which were not part of a local, regional or national circuit.[101] These commercial combinations were able to move into a lucrative area of operation by investing in more elaborate premises and equipment, and it was this development which opened up a divide between the super cinemas and the rest. This rift, clear by 1930 and sustained by the overwhelming popularity of the talkies, remained a feature of the cinema - locally and nationally - even after the smaller, older cinemas were equipped for sound.

The Cinema: Audiences

The cinema was, of course, more than a business concern; it was also a popular social institution which had a place in the every-day lives of the local people. The nature of its role - the way it helped to mould and was in turn moulded by - such daily contact, prompts a whole range of questions. These involve patterns of use by the public and also the values they attached to such use. The term public, is perhaps misleading since it could suggest a social homogeneity which did not exist; for the hierarchies that existed in the streets, and in the earlier forms of leisure were transposed into this newer form. The result was a scale of seat prices which allowed a degree of segregation enough to mirror social caste, but also appeal to the sum of these customers. This ability to attract large and commercially rewarding audiences, was in part due to the financial accessibility of the cinema.[102] The cheaper seats were not expensive; in 1912 a seat at the Coliseum would cost as little as 1d, and 16 years later a front-of-house seat at the Victory Super Cinema would have been available for only 3d.[103] The cinema also benefited from not being considered a male province. Women went to the cinema with

or without their boyfriend or husband, and by doing so ran no risk of being frowned upon, as would have been the case had they gone to the pub. Teenagers keen on social propriety would meet their sweethearts outside or inside the cinema. It was quite acceptable for two women friends to go together, or indeed for a mother to take her children. The composition of the audience seems to have reflected this acceptance, but also included parents with their children, married couples of all ages, courting couples, teenagers and also children without adults.[104]

The cinema was also geographically accessible, since, as well as the town centre concerns, there were also those located within or on the edges of large areas of terraced housing within a mile radius of the town hall. Although the smaller, less sophisticated neighbourhood cinemas could not compete on the same scale as the super cenemas, they were able to provide a particularly convenient access to entertainment. Interviewees who had been customers stressed the importance of the cinemas being within a short walking distance, and therefore easy to reach. Two women spoke of the regular routine of taking their children to the nearby cinema. One remembered that after she had done most of the day's housework, she and her little boy would see a film and still be home before her husband returned for tea.[105] Another felt that the neighbourhood cinemas provided a release for many mothers who worked in the home all day.[106] Cost was also a consideration, since they were cheaper than the super cinemas such as the Rialto and the Regal, situated near the town centre.[107] The neighbourhood cinemas were also felt to be more homely; the people interviewed suggested a relaxed relationship where smallness, cosiness and a family atmosphere were important.[108] They were also places

where few saw the need to dress up, at least during the week. On the other hand people seemed to feel it was appropriate to dress up for the more grand, less homely, super cinemas. All cinemas though, could expect to see customers dressed in smarter clothes at weekends. Shawls and clogs were replaced by coats and shoes or boots; trousers and jackets used for work were left in favour of a smarter combination, including a collar and tie, although it was rare for anyone to wear their Sunday best, except when courting was at a particularly serious stage.[109] Saturday night was the single most popular night for cinema-going, with mid-week nights providing relatively meagre takings for the proprietors.[110]

The Edwardian Salford of Robert Roberts had seen the earliest cinemas treated with disdain by the moralising members of the district, and in 1917, in London, the National Council for Public Morals had aired their worst fears during a nationwide inquiry into the probity of such entertainment.[111] In both cases the cinema emerged with an enhanced reputation, and the National Council for Public Morals went as far as acknowledging the potential of the institution as a counter attraction to the pub.[112] The publicly aired suspicions that lay beneath the disquiet in Salford and motivated the national inquiry in 1917 seem to have been absent in Rochdale. However, although the early cinema in Rochdale had been associated partly with the decorous concerts run by Parker, the years before World War One seem to have seen a limited middle class presence in the picture houses. Social caste was maintained for the well-to-do who did go because seats were sold at different prices. A woman recalled seeing many of the social elite from church at the local cinema; she seemed to feel they were out of place there, but also

registered some satisfaction at their presence - on the one hand an act of legitimation, and on the other, an acknowledgement of popular mass entertainment.[113] Here, as in the other commercial cinemas in Rochdale, seats were priced at a higher rate the further they were from the screen, with the balcony accommodation dearest of all. This is how another woman, from a comfortable working class background, but with a white collar job spoke of the audiences at her cinema:

> ...you'd get all the kids and the noisy ones at the front, and, er...how shall I put it...the ordinary sort of people would go in the other seats...and the people, the professional sort of folks in the er...the business people in the best seats.[114]

In ways reminiscent of the pub, the picture houses of Rochdale were graded for attractiveness and respectability. Once the super cinemas had emerged the local 'flea pits' were pushed lower down the scale. The interviewees classified the town centre houses above the neighbourhood ones, but amongst the former cinemas the 'super' and ordinary were kept distinct. An example of a less desirable cinema was the Coliseum, which during the 1920s and 30s had become notorious. It was situated near to a very large area of poor housing which flanked Oldham Road, had a leaking roof and also rats.[115] *Matinees* were noted for their boisterousness, and children with pea-shooters were a frequent menace.[116] Referred to as the 'bughole' or 'fleapit', the Coliseum was one of the earlier cinemas to be opened, along with the Pavillion and Ceylon, although they attracted much less unfavourable comment. The town centre halls, such as the Empire and Hippodrome, once offering variety, but later showing films were considered one step above the 'locals'. As one woman remarked,

> A better class of people went to the Empire, than they did to the Hippodrome, and a very low class of people - I know you shouldn't say it - went to the Coliseum.[117]

The super cinemas such as the Rialto and Regal were extremely popular and were especially so on Saturday nights, when there seems to have been a high percentage of 'serious' courting and also married couples. Some were willing to queue for an hour or more to get a seat in one of these picture palaces.[118] During the decade before World War Two they were at the pinnacle of the local entertainment trade far above any association with seediness or roughness. For those locals who had been suspicious and scornful of the early cinema, the new type of establishment was food for thought.[119] Here was a popular public entertainment which flirted with a world of luxury and flamour but was open to all who could afford to pay.

The Dance Halls

Between 1880 and World War One dances were a rarity, and when they occurred they were select affairs.[120] During the 1890s, Charles Parker - a local musician and dance instructor - had done much to popularise dancing by offering lessons to children and adults. The fee he asked was 10/6d per term, which no doubt excluded all but the keenest and most prosperous working class pupils. In 1894 he offered tuition in the waltz, the valeta and the lancers,[121] but by the turn of the century his main interests were the Popular Concerto, which included singing, comedy and a film show, but no dancing.[122] During the summer season of 1900 the proprietors of Nichol's Hall at Hollingworth Lake offered roller-skating and dancing daily for 4d entry fee, within a business devoted mainly to catering for school and club outings by selling teas and providing picnic facilities.[123] Earlier in that year, the Association of the Rochdale and District Powerloom Weavers, Winders, Reelers and Beamers - amongst the most prestigious

workers in the textile trade - held its annual concert and ball at the Town Hall with tickets at 1/- each.[124]

It was after the war that dancing became associated with a mass following. During 1922 the first post-war dancing school appeared and was followed by another five before the end of 1928.[125] They taught pupils, but also arranged dances for them. Deportment and elocution classes - for young women only - were an early feature of two of these concerns. High on the list of priorities for many of their customers was the ability to dance, and thereby enter into what had up to then been the preserve of the better off. As one of the interviewees remarked,

> ...the families that [were]...I don't want to use the word 'better-off'...used to see that their children were taught to dance.[126]

To be able to dance was a sign of respectability; it suggested a degree of gentility in a world full of brashness. This man's older brothers and sisters could all dance, so he felt he should go to one of the dancing schools to learn himself. He went regularly to the classes and dances run by the proprietor, Mr Turner, in a rented hall at the Beaconsfield Conservative Club on Baron Street.

In the mid-1920s dances were held in hired halls by organisations such as the Co-op, the dance schools and on a private basis by some of the town's employers. The churches and chapels were also early promoters, often using the event as yet another method of fund-raising.[127] These early days seem to have been rife with small scale and even amateur promotions, and indeed two of the men interviewed were involved with such work in the evenings and at weekends.[128] One permanent dance venue existed at this time; it was a wooden structure on the banks of Hollingworth Lake. Known as The Lakeside Pavillion,

it offered an evening of dancing to a syncopated band during the summer of 1926. The Pavillion was however not alone; on one Saturday in August of that year novelty trio dancing was the theme at the Labour Hall from 7 till 11pm for 1/-. At a more elaborate event, Phil Richardson's Rythmeans, 'an up to date six piece combination', were to play at Balderstone Hall for a similar period, but for an entry fee of 2/-.[129] Although most weekend dances then cost between 1/- and 2/-, those held at mission halls and club rooms during the week were less expensive. The 'sixpenny hops' meant that few would be excluded due to lack of cash.[130]

The following decade saw a further expansion in the dance hall business with the opening of five more dance schools and a large ballroom, the first of its kind in the town.[131] The Carlton, owned by Embassy Amusements Limited, offered standards which temporary venues, such as the Ambulance Drill Hall, or the Temperance Hall could not match.[132] It brought a degree of luxury, akin to that of the newly established super cinemas and had two special attractions; its own resident band and a restaurant. The opening in 1934 enhanced the role of the commercial institutions in such provision but added a third type of concern, a unit within a circuit of halls, to the smaller commercially run dances, and the evenings arranged by some local firms for their employees.[133]

The great majority of people in the sample saw the Carlton as a highly respectable establishment, even in cases where dance halls were generally looked down on. The decor, the band, and the absence of fighting or rowdiness often seen at other venues, seem to have made a major contribution to its appeal.[134] As one of the male interviewees said,

> That was lovely, that was the goods was that. [] You'd no rough stuff, you never got the rough stuff at 'Carlton.[135]

Even the daughter of a local mill-owning family went to the Carlton, which she combined with trips to dances at the Ritz in Manchester. The Carlton had a 'good name' as far as she was concerned, so that in her teens her parents were happy to allow her to go.[136]

Another woman, also from a middle class background, recalled limiting herself to private dances at the golf club because public dances were for people beneath her. However, she and her *fiance* did go to the Carlton, but they did so to observe rather than dance:

> We went once or twice to watch...no, we were a bit above the Carlton.[137]

Another interviewee, who had worked in the mill since the age of 14 went there, but so did a third respondent, who had been to the local grammar school and was to train to be a teacher.[138] Entry cost 2/6d on Fridays and Saturdays but there was a sixpenny ticket for those who wanted to sit on the balcony and look on. The cost may have discouraged some, but so too would the relatively high standard of dress the management required of the clientele.[139]

At the Carlton as at other venues the young women seem frequently to have danced together; there were far fewer men able or willing to step onto the dance floor.[140] This was partly due to shyness, but also due to ideas about what 'real men' should do; one man recalled thinking that the men who danced were 'flamin' pansies'.[141]

The public dances at the Carlton and other places at the weekend seem to have been attended mainly by the young - those in their teens and early twenties - and in some cases women easily outnumbered the men.[142] At the Carlton, for instance, it was the habit for a large number of men to appear from the pub in time for the last dance.[143] The

private dances, held by firms, or by sporting clubs, seem to have seen a more even distribution of age groupings, and also an equal number of men and women.[144] The Town Hall was a frequent setting for the select gathering, but so too was the Ambulance Drill Hall, which took on a different character, when the dance was invitation only.

The Gramophone and Radio

The gramophone was a consumer durable which had widespread use in the sphere of domestic leisure. Although Edison had invented the phonograph in 1877, it was the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century before its offspring, the gramophone, became truly popular. From this time the money that had been invested in order to build relatively cheap reliable machines began to see a significant returns on the basis of growing national sales.[145] The majority of people interviewed had gramophones at home, where some grafted listening on to the more active musical evenings once focused on the piano, and others could hear music within their own four walls for the first time.[146]

The records that were played on these machines were more expensive in the years before the First World War than after it. In 1911 for instance a one-sided 10 inch record was most commonly priced at 3/6d, but by 1927 a two disc of the same size could usually be bought for 3/-.[147] The late twenties saw two further developments: the Vocalion Record Company produced discs for 1/3d, bearing the tunes that the HMV and Columbia companies were asking 3/- for. In addition, the chain of stores owned by Woolworth were offering records for only 6d, and enjoying what an Official Government Report called 'enormous sales'.[148]

The musical content of the records bought by interviewees tended to consist of borrowings from another *genre*, such as the variety theatre, the dance halls, films, or musical comedy. Variety songs like 'The Laughing Policeman' or 'Peggie O'Neil', as well as performers such as Harry Lauder, George Formby and Gracie Fields were recalled, the latter with a particular fondness.[149] The local variety halls clearly had an influence on the content of the record, but so too did the Music Saloons at Southport, Blackpool and the Isle of Man, where the latest ballad sheets could be bought and learnt during the course of an accompanied sing-song.[150] Singing around the family piano also gave some of its character and popularity to disc sales, but from 1900 as with the seaside saloons, the net effect was to impinge upon the popularity of sheet music sales.[151] Dance band music on record entered a mutually creative relationship with the dance halls during the 1920s and '30s, which was also helped along by the extensive broadcasting of such music by the BBC. Recorded favourites included Henry Hall, Jack Hilton and Harry Roy bands.[152] Music that had an association with film was also played; one person remembered 'Sonny Boy', a highly sentimental song sung by Al Jolson on screen in 'The Jazz Singer'; another recalled buying the theme music of the latest talkies, whenever family finances allowed.[153] People had recordings of stage musicals such as 'The Maid of the Mountains' but works from the classical repertoire were less popular, attention being focussed mainly on 'The Messiah', works by well known singers such as Caruso, and light classics in the shape of Gilbert and Sullivan operetta.[154] Brass Band recordings were also bought, and this owed much to the limited popularity of local bands, a relationship mirrored by the importance of live and recorded

oratorio.[155]

Patterns of listening varied; for some of the interviewees there were no set times for listening.[156] Of these, two people recalled the gramophone being a constant source of background music.[157] In contrast some spoke of a specific routine or formal arrangement surrounding its use.[158] In one home the machine was switched on as the evening meal was put on the table, in another it saw use only on Sundays, when visitors came around.[159] In three further instances, the music would be heard only after the household chores were done.[160]

The radio, like the gramophone, was an item used for entertainment in the home. In the years between the wars, it took its place within the patterns of domestic routine, often acting as an incentive to stay in the home, for those who might otherwise have spent time in the pub, variety theatre, cinema, or dance hall. In the early post-war years listeners throughout the country were tuning in on sets of two very different kinds; the crystal sets which were relatively cheap and often available in kit form were by far the most popular, leaving a smaller market for the larger, more expensive valve receivers.[161] From the early 1930s however, the valve sets, which produced a stronger sound and had the advantage of a loudspeaker, came within economic reach of the majority of people in work.[162] The crystal sets, equipped with earphones, allowed only one person to listen at a time, and thereby severely restricted group involvement within the home.

In Rochdale the novelty of these early crystal sets caused family members, plus friends and neighbours to crowd around for a chance to hear a radio programme. But it was not until the sets equipped with speakers became widespread, that the radio became fully

integrated into the daily domestic round, as a source of shared entertainment and information, rather than a piece of equipment valued mainly for its novelty.[163]

Radio sets were owned by the majority of the people interviewed.[164] The less advanced crystal sets were a more popular choice during the 1920s, whereas the 1930s saw the pre-eminence of the more powerful appliances, whether as replacements, or to introduce a valve set into the home for the first time.[165] Like the piano, the radio set could confer status on those who were lucky enough to own one. For one of the well-to-do middle class women it was a matter of pride that she had been able to buy the crystal, and later the value set as they were introduced onto the market.[166] For another woman who was an office worker, being able to buy a valve receiver was a sign that she and her husband were making some financial headway in the hostile economic climate of the 1930s.[167] Two people associated buying a mains operated valve set (rather than a battery powered set) with improvements to their homes which entailed the installation of electricity.[168] Others, from less than prosperous backgrounds referred to following the example of someone in the street, or emphasised the fact that when they bought their valve set, few people they knew had one.[169] The wired relay systems operated by companies such as Rediffusion, in return for a weekly rental, were seen as rather second rate and offered an easy target for anyone interested in one-upmanship. although they were an attractive alternative for those who could not afford their own set, and did not wish to hire purchase, they were associated with the lower end of the radio market.[170] At a basic rental of 1/6d in 1939, it could be argued that they were not a cheap option, especially when compared to the 'People's Sets'

introduced by Philco in 1936, and which sold for five guineas.[171] The relay customer on the other hand had had to buy a receiver license costing 10/- and provide their own speaker, or enter a hire-purchase scheme with the company, before they could listen in.[172]

The Radio was more than a status symbol, because for many it offered light relief from the daily routine in the home or workplace. However, listening could constitute important time boundaries; in three of the homes the radio was switched on in the evening to mark a point when the washing up, tidying or cleaning were to be finished or set aside, before listening could begin.[173] Several interviewees recalled firm routines for listening existed irrespective of house-work, but for the majority there were no such regularities.[174] In a few instances the wireless was on for most of the day, providing little more than background noise,[175] and in four homes women used the radio as an aid to work whilst cleaning, washing, or ironing.[176]

The types of programmes that were heard fell into three main categories; popular music, drama, and comedy, each of which borrowed impetus from, as well as encouraging, local forms. Ballroom dancing music was broadcast direct by the BBC from a series of large hotels, including the Savoy in London, the Grand in Scarborough, and the Majestic at St. Anne's. This type of music accounted for 43% of broadcasting time in 1934, the very year that the Carlton opened, itself offering the hope, if not the reality, of 'higher things'.[177] Harry Roy, Henry Hall and Ambrose who were regular bandleaders on BBC broadcasts, were recalled by several of the interviewees.[178] People tuned-in to radio plays including thrillers or detective stories.[179] 'The Man in Black' and 'Dick Barton' are two examples of this latter subject, developed by the BBC from 1938, although their national

popularity was a product of the years after 1939.[180] Comedy and variety programmes were also remembered with some nostalgia, as were the children's programmes, which made up Children's Hour.[181]

Clubs and Societies

Clubs and societies were an important focus for leisure during the period, and never more so than in the years before 1914. On the one hand there were the subscription clubs including the Working Men's Clubs and avowedly political associations, and on the other were the interest, activity, or educational groups, including those run by the co-op, and also the Clarion and Temperance movements. Both types had developed to form a cellular structure not unlike the many churches in the town, where an active local membership was the foundation for inter-group association within a larger organisation.

In 1898 the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws listed 27 subscription clubs, with a total of 5,019 members. Six of these clubs did not serve alcohol, (of these 4 were Liberal Clubs) and of the 27 some 18 were political clubs, the majority of which were set up by local supporters of either the Conservative, Liberal, or Independent Labour Party. The rest of the 18 included the Social Democratic Federation, The National League (pro home rule for Ireland), and the Power-Loom Overlookers' Society.[182] Before 1902 these clubs could proceed without legal directives since it was not compulsory, even for liquor supplying clubs, to register. However, from that year renewal of registration was made by justices in the Petty Sessional Divisions, unless the government minister concerned saw fit to reject the application on grounds of bad conduct.[183] This legislation had a national scope, and brought some degree of

state control to institutions which had previously depended on a limited amount of voluntary regulation by bodies such as the Working Men's Club and Institute Union.[184] The *'Royal Commission on Licensing* which reported in 1932 came to the conclusion that registered clubs were an asset to society, and suggested no proposals to hamper them.[185]

The largest club in Rochdale, the Brickcroft Workmen's Club, mounted a strong programme of improving activities which included reading competitions and addresses by people such as the United States Consul to Manchester, who spoke on the American sense of humour.[186] There were also trips, and these included the 330 strong expedition to see the colliery at Darcy Lever one Saturday afternoon in 1891.[187] In a similar vein, the Spotland Liberal Club drew a large number of its members to debate the Liverpool bye-election.[188] For some clubs the activities took on a less serious character; in 1880 the Central Conservative Club offered a miscellaneous concert, and in 1888 the Wellfield Workmen's Club held a series of Wednesday night concerts, consisting of singing and piano playing by members.[189] After 1914 the educational aspect of the clubs such as Brickcroft and the Spotland Liberal Club was less in evidence, there being a parallel with the reduction in the range and extent of church activity over a similar period. In the interwar years these clubs appear to have maintained their role as purveyors of drink and some of the recreations found in pubs, such as dominoes or billiards, but no longer did their programme retain a strong educational element.

Prime among the second type of club - the interest or activity based groups - were those run by the Co-op. Before the First World War, these associations were important social institutions for a small minority of townspeople. The Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society (R.E.P.S.),

though being primarily a retailing organisation, included an education department which offered access to a library and reading room, but also ran a choir, a rambling society, a series of concerts and hosted a local branch of the Co-op Women's Guild.[190] The Society was also offering night school tuition in the shape of science and art classes; in September 1880, a Professor Stuart, M.A., addressed a prizegiving which ended a year in which 162 science and 76 art students had attended.[191] After the First World War these classes were in decline nationwide, in part due to courses offered to an increasing extent by local authorities, a factor which meant the beginning of the end of a strong relationship between Co-operation and education.[192] This decline in one section of the R.E.P.S. - arguably prefigured in the proceedings of the 1904 Co-operative Congress - had spread to all the other areas of leisure provision by the early 1920s.[193] By this time the Co-op was slowly ceasing to exist as the all-round social institution it had once been.

The Rochdale and District Temperance League had been an integral part of the Liberal/Nonconformist alignment that had so characterised Lancashire in the first decade of the twentieth century.[194] Like the chapels and the Co-op it held a principled opposition towards drink, and had offered a programme of concerts and pantomimes, and had gone a step further by holding open air meetings in the Town Hall Square every Sunday.[195] By 1918 the League, like its contemporaries, had suffered the shattering effects of war and eventually ceased to function, even for the minority of the population it had involved.[196] Changes in the early twentieth century society in which it worked seem partly to account for this; drink became less of a problem at the same time as the emergence of a growing range of

alternatives to the pub.

As well as the Temperance Society, a local Ornithological Society (founded in 1889), a Burns Club, Chess Club, and Rambling Club shared a peak of activity before 1914. This category of club organised activity which were highly specialised and focused on an interest for its own sake; it did not revolve around the furtherance of a greater ideal, and tended to survive the effects of the war and sustained a presence throughout the interwar years.[197] Another society, the Clarion cycling club, prominent locally between the 1890s and the Great War owed its origins to the socialist revival of the 1880s and also to the traditions of the chapel and Liberalism. Social functions similar to those of the church were held in winter, and during the warmer months, rides to places of interest or beauty were arranged regularly.[198] However, the political and social aspect of the Club seems to have suffered badly, firstly from the disruption of the war, and secondly from a growing emphasis on the competitive aspect of cycling. In the mid-thirties these trends were underlined by the separation of the national organisation into two tiers - one for the specialists and one (relatively depleted) for the social membership.[199]

Rochdale had other clubs involved with sport; however, these originated with an emphasis on members' involvement, but later emerged as spectator dependent organisations. The most important was the Rugby Club, founded in 1866, by several young men who were each sons of local businessmen. By 1871 the club had amalgamated with two other clubs to form a team known as the Rochdale Hornets. In 1895 they split from the Rugby Union over the issue of professionalism although 'loss of earnings' payments had been made for some time.

The Club enjoyed no real measure of financial security, since its history is punctuated by periodic crises, when last minute pleas were made to its supporters.[200] The Association Football Club founded, after a series of failures, by 1907, played firstly in the Manchester League and later in the Lancashire Combination, topping its first division in 1909-10. It tried to gain access to the second division of the Football League, without success, before 1928, but was considerably hampered by a lack of capital.[201] Cricket predated both Rugby and Association Football; the Rochdale Cricket Club was in existence with 31 subscribers as early as 1824. As late as 1884, inter-county matches were played in Rochdale, as well as a series of lively matches involving nearby villages and townships.[202] By 1894 the Central Lancashire League was founded, which depended on local teams manned by a combination of professional and amateur players.[203] Cricket and the exclusively male preserve of rugby and football matches each depended on spectators attending, plus subscriptions from members. Unlike the other clubs and societies they all three involve a relatively passive role for the majority of those concerned, and base their institutions on the model of a commercial entity rather than a voluntary organisation. Smaller clubs made up wholly of amateurs existed in each of these sports, and indeed, did much to continue the popularity of the particular activity, but were clearly of vastly different character in terms of their organisation.[204]

Athletics in Rochdale also had a history split between two forms of organisation; on the one hand there were the bodies such as the Rochdale Athletic Club which formed from a rifle club in 1866, regularly hosted race meetings for professional runners up to the year 1921.[205] A different tradition, centred on amateur competition is represented by the Rochdale Harriers, whose activities were

focused on small scale membership activities without the use of a stadium or the presence of a crowd.[206]

The Sphere of Illegality: Gambling and Prostitution

The music hall and theatre were both subject to laws which were conceived locally and nationally. Similarly, those involved with gambling, or prostitution, were liable to the control and sanction of the authorities, but in ways which were designed to eradicate or contain, rather than reform. In the Rochdale of 1880, as in the rest of the country, no law existed against off-course ready money betting; instead proceedings were taken on the basis of destruction, or local bye-laws, until a 1906 Street Betting Act offered a specific description and sanction.[207] Where cases of prostitution occurred the law was similarly ill-defined, the two most commonly used charges relating to vagrancy and loitering, rather than the act of prostitution itself.[208]

In 1902 the House of Lords Select Committee on Betting reported that gambling was generally prevalent in the United Kingdom and that it had increased 'of late years'. The working classes had been responsible for this increase, a fact which the Lords felt could be a corrupting influence on sport and the community at large.[209] Twenty-one years later a select committee on betting duty detected a further rise in activity, adding that the bulk of the betting done was for moderate stakes and from the pockets of the artisan or working classes of the bigger boroughs.[210] Women were reported to be betting to a large and increasing extent, especially in the textile towns. The earlier report had chronicled the growth and eventual banning of coupon betting on horses, and the importance of papers such as

Sporting Luck, which carried racing results, but gambling was also prevalent at athletic meetings and football matches.[211] The total national annual turnover in gambling was estimated at between £350 and £400 millions by *The Economist* in 1936 whilst in 1933 *The Times* estimated some £500 millions, including bets on horse racing, greyhounds, football pools and gaming machines.[212] Pool gambling grew spectacularly between 1929 and 1937, measured by the sale of postal orders valued at 6d, 1/-, 2/6d and 5/-.[213] Testimony to the popularity of this form of gambling was also given by the Mass Observation Survey, which spoke of a 'new social grouping' - created by the activities of companies such as Littlewood's Pools - which were seen to be having a marked effect on the habits and customs of the British population.[214] Ironically perhaps, a prohibitive Act, passed in 1920 aiming to end the popular newspaper lotteries, had helped to shape this new and highly popular form of gambling.[215]

In Rochdale gambling via the post existed alongside more localised forms. At the Baillie Street Church Sunday School Band of Hope, in 1883, Mr Thomas Watson spoke to an assembly about the banning of the 'Nudger Sports'. These consisted of horse races, with what he referred to as 'the attendant evils of gambling and drinking'. Watson, a silk manufacturer, and staunch Methodist was keen to chronicle the role of an earlier Non-Conformist in the campaign of prohibition. As this local press report indicates, the sports were banned and this had much to do with the prominent place in local politics enjoyed by the elite at Baillie Street:

> ...their old friend, the late Mr J. Ashworth (applause) and a number of others made a great effort, and the Nudger Sports were put an end to. He took occasion to speak about this matter because he thought horse racing was a thing which tended to very much deteriorate the

moral standard of young men.[216]

Such crusades were not successful in removing the taint of gambling from all sporting activity; one of the interviewees recalled betting on Kner and Spell tournaments based on his local pub,[217] whilst the professional athletic tournaments where competition was for prize money continued until the early 1920s.[218]

Many more impromptu forms of gambling survived, such as toss ha'penny, and gaming with cards, both of which came under considerable surveillance by the police between 1900 and 1910.[219] Betting with a bookie or bookie's runner in the street was also a fact of life; the favourite places for this included the lower market place and Newgate but contact could also be made in many of the more anonymous streets, away from the centre of town.[220] For those with the means, there was also a gentleman's gambling club, which for 2/6d admission fee plus 2/6d annual subscription (1898) was open and serving drinks between 9am and 11pm, save Sundays. This club, with 500 members, was the subject for a particularly vitriolic report from the Chief Constable to the Watch Committee in July 1885, in which demands were made for tougher national legislation.[221]

Prostitution was also subject to the periodic campaigns waged by the borough police. The first decade of the twentieth century seems to have witnessed a high point for numbers apprehended, charged and found guilty, but at other times, for example between July 1880 and September 1881, the court records bear no proceedings on these issues.[222] Prostitutes were arrested by the police in several places in or close to the town centre, such as Lord Street, Drake Street, Yorkshire Street and Newgate, but apprehensions were also made in places further afield, such as Milnrow Road and Bury Road, both of

which extended alongside large areas of housing.[223] Pubs were places where prostitutes could meet clients, but here too they ran the risk of arrest;[224] pimps and brothel keepers were also targets, but appeared in court less frequently.[225]

Municipal Leisure Amenities

In the period 1880 to 1939 the local authority oversaw an increasing level of provision in the sphere of leisure. New library facilities, together with the opening of swimming baths and public parks were the main features of a steadily growing involvement which was partly financed by the council, but also due to bequests made by some of the larger local entrepreneurs. In 1902 Samuel Turner gave a large house and 18 acres of land which was opened to the public in 1905.[226] In 1932 other members of the family gave a similar amount of acreage, also suitable for use as a park, perhaps feeling they had been outshone by the Lye family, who had given a 25 acre playing field and a golf course in the mid-1920s.[227] The town's first municipal bowling green was opened in 1908, and tennis courts were to follow in 1924 and 1930, both providing alternatives to club or chapel involvement.[228]

The first public swimming baths were opened in 1868, and saw a peak of popularity in 1914 when 78,000 people attended; a fall in attendance in the two following decades being due to the combined effect of the war and the growth of alternatives.[229] In 1937 a new complex was opened introducing a much higher standard of amenity; it included two plunges, Turkish and Russian baths, a massage parlour and a cafe.[230]

The municipal library service had its predecessor and earliest

rival in the Co-op, which had for several years contemplated opening a library which could have served the whole of the town, but had found it difficult to earmark enough capital.[231] Once established in 1872, the borough library quickly outstripped its rival in terms of membership; by 1879 the Co-op Library had 2,500 members, but four years later the central library had twice that number.[232] This municipal concern saw 15,000 books issued in 1883 (population 68,000 in 1881) whereas in 1923, 283,000 books were loaned (population 90,000 in 1921).[233] From the earliest, works of fiction had been overwhelmingly popular; in 1904 the chairman of the Co-op Education Committee had called for a reduction in the amount of 'frothy fiction' that had accumulated over the years in each of the Co-op libraries in Britain.[234] Readership figures for the municipal library show a similar preference; for the year ending March 1900, some 132,317 books were issued, 106,000 of which were fiction, or from the junior section, and by 1931 the Central Library and its six branches were recording 451,741 issues, over half of which were from the fiction shelves.[235]

By 1939 the services and goods offered by commercial concerns figured prominently in the lives of Rochdalians. In the home the radio and gramophone had become commonplace. Outside the home the dance halls and cinemas drew large gatherings, especially at the weekend when most people were intent on a night out. The holiday transport trade had grown in importance, initially by offering an alternative to the bawdy festivities of Rushbearing - alongside which it had existed in the mid-19th century - but from 1880 by appealing to growing numbers of working class travellers. The Circus which had stood off Newgate in 1880 had, less than 30 years later, been

replaced by a purpose built variety theatre, before the interwar cinema made it impossible for all but the established theatre to continue to offer live entertainment on a profitable basis. The commercial institutions could not account for all the leisure facilities in Rochdale; the municipal amenities showed a steady growth in the period, and the clubs and societies, though limited in number and scope, retained a presence. However, the spread of leisure provision organised in pursuit of profit, is an unmistakable feature of Rochdale in this sixty year period.

CHAPTER 10

THE NEWER COMMERCIAL FORMS: SOME NATIONAL FEATURES

The growth of the cinema, dance hall, radio and gramophone helped transform leisure for Rochdalians, but these local changes were part of developments taking place on a much larger scale. By 1939 in Britain as a whole, the impact of these newer commercial forms was profound. Two factors are bound up with this growth; on the one hand there was the development of large markets - particularly for the cinema and radio - and on the other a tendency towards monopoly by the lateral and vertical integration of firms. The British cinema offers a good example of the first of these characteristics. during 1934 there were 903 million paid admissions, costing a total of over £38 million, with the average ticket cost of 10.25 pence.[1] Weekly attendances were estimated at 8 million in 1914, 18½ million in 1934 and 19 million in 1939,[2] but in addition to these figures, social surveys undertaken during the 1930s portray the popularity of the cinema and the extent of its absorption into the routines and patterns of everyday life.[3] The dance hall was also important, and after the opening of the London Astoria in 1927, all major towns came to have their own large commercially run halls which were often purpose-built and rivalled the super cinemas for architectural splendour.[4] Although from 1927 BBC Radio was a monopoly sponsored by the state, a commercial interest was involved with the sale of radio sets; in that year there were less than 2½ million radio licenses taken out, but by 1938 the figure had become almost 9 million.[5] The home gross output of wireless apparatus and valves had more than doubled in a space of 11 years to reach a value of £15½

million in 1935 - much of it destined for British salerooms.[6] The gramophone and record industries gained in significance during the 1920s and 30s. Giants like Columbia and HMV reported that record sales from their Hayes factory 'always ran well into seven figures per month'.[7] Less than two years later, Columbia increased their claim to dominance in a large and growing market, by boasting about the sale of 2 million records during one month.[8]

In the cinema during 1934, roughly 43% of all admissions were at prices not exceeding 6d each, and another 37% paid not more than 10d.[9] Dance halls offered entry at prices which differed according to the standard of the premises, the band, whether or not refreshments were offered, and the day of the week. By the late 1930s prices seem to have stabilised between 1/- and 2/6d.[10] During the mid 1930s would-be radio listeners could take advantage of a fall in prices and buy a three valve battery set for as little as 5 guineas, at a time when real wages and salaries were rising for those in work.[11] Gramophones and gramophone records came within reach of the bulk of the population during the 1920s and 30s. This situation was partly due to the intense competition between the record companies - especially apparent during 1926 - the year electric sound recording was initiated.[12] However, other factors accompanied the popularity of recorded music; the enhanced spending power of the public, the pull of the popular dance and jazz tunes (accounting for 90% of record sales by the late 1920s), the growth of new retail outlets such as grocers, drapers' shops and Woolworth's stores, together with cheaper mechanised forms of disc and player production all had their part.[13] In 1938 an electrically operated record player called The Columbia outsold all others at a price of 39/6d. A slightly more elaborate

portable record player, made by the same combination of firms, sold well in 1939 for £3-19s-6d.[14]

From the mid 1920s until the outbreak of war the gramophone record industry had developed in two important ways. Firstly, commercial concentration brought a state of oligopoly to the industry, and secondly, mechanised forms of production had been adapted by these leading companies. It was the larger firms which had the capacity to invest to the extent needed to pursue high volume, low unit cost production. The Gramophone Company (otherwise known as HMV) operated a 48 acre factory site near Hayes, Middlesex, where mass production techniques were used in gramophone as well as record manufacture. Semi-automatic processes were used in the manufacture of gramophone needles as this 1926 report testifies:

> When watching the tungstyle needle produced in one operation, the delicacy, and yet infallible accuracy of the machine must be one's first impression. The needle shank is turned at the same moment that the tungsten wire is inserted in the end, and with one 'snip' the needle drops complete into a receptacle, ready to be boxed. It is the work of a fraction of a second only to make one of these complicated accessories, many millions of which are turned out monthly in this shop, but where, except to guide the raw material into the machine, no human hand is involved.[15]

Similar processes were involved in the production of the electric motor and the tone arm for gramophones:

> On a floor above endless rows of lathes turn the different parts, none of which is touched by human hands. Where more than one operation is necessary to complete the part, the metal is turned, drilled and grooved in one machine only, by sets of revolving chucks, each of which holds a little cutting tool which is to perform some separate function.[16]

Significant commercial concentration came in 1931 when two major record companies, Columbia and The Gramophone Company, merged to form Electrical and Musical Industries Ltd (E.M.I.). The boom

period for the record industry between 1927 and 1929, when Columbia was the most spectacular figure on the Stock Exchange, gave way to a period of reduced sales due to the depression. The birth of the E.M.I. conglomerate helped create, in Briggs's words, 'a highly integrated industry', which entered the economically changeable years of the 1930s.[17] The 1931 merger put E.M.I. in control of considerable radio interests, the manufacture of home electrical appliances and also of cicycles, via the acquisition of Rudge-Whitworth Ltd., all of which brought it an increased stake in the sale of goods for the period people spent away from paid work. Later in the decade E.M.I. earmarked money for television research and eventually equipped the BBC station at Alexandra Palace with transmitting apparatus.[18]

Dramatic commercial developments took place within the cinema industry during the inter-war period. In film production as well as renting and exhibition merger and integration were to transform the structure of the industry into something the early film entrepreneurs used to small scale operation would not have recognised. There were two phases to this integration; firstly horizontally within the three levels of the trade (production, renting and exhibition) and secondly vertically where oligopolies had ownership of all facets of the business.

The exhibitors saw early concentration when in 1909 Provincial Cinematograph Theatres founded its circuit with capital of £100,000; by 1913 it had been joined by three more circuits but remained the largest concern.[19] By 1927 the exhibition companies were highly capitalised - to the extent of between £30 and 50 millions - private capital having been replaced by public companies, and backing having emerged from banks and finance companies.[20] Although half the cinemas

in Britain were independently owned as late as 1936, the 4 largest circuits by then controlled 801 premises, accounting for 18% of the national total and 24% of the seating.[21] These circuits were, in order of size, the Gaumont British Picture Corporation and Subsidiaries, Associated British Cinemas (A.B.C.), the Union Cinema Group and Odeon Theatres.

In Britain the integration of renting and production came after changes in exhibition. In 1919/20 there were 64 renting firms, 17 of which handled 74% of films. By 1927/8 the number totalled 36, the 14 largest of which handled 84% of all films, but as had been the case earlier, the most successful of these were the ones who mainly distributed American films or were affiliated to their producers.[22] Renters were in a key position because producers were dependent on them for financial assistance and exhibitors were keen to secure block-booking, and derive benefits from the advertising they arranged. During the 1920s the more successful circuits had grouped to get better terms with these middle-men, and by doing so had worsened the position of the local cinemas. By the end of the decade the circuits had integrated with the renters.

Since before World War One, British film producers had existed in the shadow of their American counterparts. Partly due to a lack of investment, and of artistic and commercial leadership, the Americans had made significant inroads into British markets. In 1927, when 90% of films shown here were from the USA, the government passed the Cinematograph Films Act, forcing the home share of the market to rise to 20% by 1933.[23] Even during the days of the silent film, the American studios had adopted production on a massive scale,

with stars such as Mary Pickford, Charlie Chaplin and the Keystone Kops.[24] Giants such as Twentieth Century Fox, Universal, Paramount and Triangle were about to emerge by the latter '20s, with control at all levels of the industry and strong affiliations with some British renters.[25] For the British studios conversion to sound was very expensive, and the cash needed was procured with the help of the renters, from the banks and assurance companies.[26] This encouraged further vertical integration in the British cinema industry, until by 1934, two main concerns, Gaumont British, and the British International Picture Group dominated at all levels. Gaumont British had control of 300 cinemas by 1929, was a major distributor (having links with 20th Century Fox) and also produced films at Shepherds Bush Studios.[27] British International Pictures, (B.I.P.), had control of the ABC cinema chain as well as a distribution circuit linked with the first National-Warner and Pathe News. B.I.P. also had facilities for production at Elstree Studios.[28]

But what were the effects of such organisational developments? Two film historians have noted an association between the growth of a highly capitalised industry with the development of a particular method of producing films.[29] This method had the effect of limiting severely the creative involvement of each individual working on the film since production was fragmented; each person played a small part in a highly integrated chain of manufacture, whose goal was to achieve profit via mass markets. The American studios, which pioneered these developments in the years before World War One, also spawned the star system which through casting policy and mass publicity focussed on the individual actor more than the plot of the film. Producers

attempted to evolve a particular formula, involving a mixture of star actors and actresses, subject matter, and method of pictorial expression, which if commercially successful would be adopted to the full:

> As salaries and production costs mounted, producers sought ways of standardising production methods, or discovering sure fire values that could be injected into their films to guarantee success at the box office. Hence there came into being certain characteristics of american production which were to persist for several decades: the star system; the formula picture (the repetition ad nauseam of a style or subject that was successful with the public); massive use of advertising and publicity.30

Developments in Britain lagged behind those in America partly due to the relative weakness of the home industry, but also the continued popularity of U.S. films with British audiences. By the late thirties two quite popular types of home produced film had emerged, the large prestige production such as Korda's 'The Private Life of Henry VIII', and secondly the comedy films featuring northern music hall stars such as Gracie Fields, George Formby and Will Hay. This borrowing from an earlier form of entertainment is perhaps more than coincidental, since as Peter Bailey has pointed out, developments similar to those of the American film industry, had taken place in the British music hall even before the turn of the century.[31] Clearly the events in the music hall on this side of the Atlantic were on a smaller scale than for film production on the other, but they entailed the creation, after 1885, of 'a prototype modern entertainment industry'. This involved the larger operators tightening their grip on the trade, together with an increased attraction to these halls for those able to consider share investment. This commercialisation affected the performers who were reconstituted as a fully professional labour force; they became stars, albeit of varying

notoriety, but more aloof than the performers at the saloons which pre-dated them.

Two important commentators on the British inter-war cinema showed their distaste for what they felt were its effects. B. Seebohm Rowntree concerned himself about the cinema's capacity to provide escapism rather than a vehicle for personal recreation, and Michael Balcon, himself a film maker, referred to the films of the 1920s as 'entertainment opium for the masses' because they reflected so little of the society in which he lived.[32] The cinemas may have offered momentary escape from the humdrum, but they did so in a way which was far from negative or dissolute; they did not offer the oblivion of 'the quickest way out of Salford', the term used to describe heavy drinking in the Edwardian pubs recalled by Robert Roberts.[33] Instead the super cinemas attempted to project an image of respectability and luxury, whilst for Roy Armes the film content continually offered assurances that social consensus would allow the unimaginable to be achieved, both on and off the screen.[34] This notion of consensus cannot of course be seen as being accepted automatically or unproblematically by cinema audiences, even though the messages of cooperation partially mirror working class life and the corporation with which it has been associated.[35] However, any such comparison must be made with care since writers such as Robert Roberts have shown, activities commensurate with togetherness and consensus were often severely curtailed if not ruled out completely by social hierarchy, even within the poorest of working class societies.[36]

The newer commercial forms - the cinema, dance hall, gramophone record industry and, less so, the radio - were aimed primarily

at the working class, although their appeal was much wider. These forms grew to popularity alongside new patterns of activity and values, which eroded dominant conventions for the role of women, and superficially at least, blurred the boundaries of social caste. In some respects these changes came about due to a slight easing of social propriety in the years following World War One; but it must not be forgotten that the middle classes were still important agents for the bestowal of good repute on pastimes open to doubt by those mindful of social respectability within the lower orders.[37] The dance halls saw a development spurred on by large London hotels such as the Savoy, and by regular broadcasts of music from highly respectable establishments chosen by the BBC. However, dancing quickly became the province of the factory girl and the office worker in ways quite unthinkable in the world of the male dominated pub. The cinema became the sphere of women and children as much as for men, and the 1920s and '30s brought greater numbers of middle class cinema-goers than ever before.[38] The gramophone record and radio also saw a widening of their social appeal across the social classes and also the gender divide. This trend was further emphasised by rearmament and the economic growth of wartime, during which higher female employment laid the basis for the commercial zenith of the cinema and dance hall during the latter 1940s.[39]

CONCLUSION

A major theme of this study has concerned the way in which leisure formed part of a way of life for the people of Rochdale. This has involved a view of how paid and domestic work defined the temporal and financial parameters of leisure. The sexual division of labour in the home was a vital factor in setting the threshold for female leisure, whilst for men the most important decider was the working day as defined by waged labour. For most women, time spent in the home consisted of periods of work interspersed with periods of non-work. For the men on the other hand, there was a much clearer distinction between work and non-work; time spent in the home was leisure, time at the factory was toil. The amount of money available was also important, and this often meant that those who were not earning had little chance of regular outings to venues which cost money. Access to leisure depended on whether or not individuals were wage earners, whether they were male or female, married or single, and also if they had any children. The amount of disposable income a wage-earner had varied according to their age and marital status, there being relative prosperity when youths were earning and still living in the parental home. For the working class, marriage signalled the start of relatively frugal leisure spending a situation heightened by the arrival of children. With the rearing of a family the domestic sphere and the neighbourhood took on an enhanced role in weekly and daily leisure patterns, in ways reminiscent of childhood, when play in the vicinity of the home was the norm.

A second theme has followed the development of institutions dealing with leisure. Rochdale saw a substantial growth in

commercially organised leisure but saw a decline in the fortunes of the church and secular societies such as the Coop. These clubs and societies were locally based and made up of groups of people involved on a voluntary basis who depended largely on their own resources. Although cellular in structure and locally based, these societies were nonetheless linked with wider regional and national organisations. Much local effort took the form of fundraising although these institutions were, with the exception of the football and cricket clubs dependent on spectators, non-profit making. The newer commercial forms such as the cinema and dance hall were run on avowedly commercial lines with profit as their aim, and involved people either as paid workers or as paying consumers. Although in the case of the cinema early commercial developments were local and small scale, later years saw important inroads made by cinema circuits and film renters controlling massive nationwide resources and based in London. In the inter-war years the popularity of the radio and gramophone had the double effect of emphasising the home as a place for leisure, whilst also creating a link with large nationwide commercial concerns who produced and sold records, gramophones and radio sets. The holiday transport industry, though developed before 1880 saw a marked expansion during the sixty year period, a growth coinciding with an increased centralisation of its business structure. The pub, a feature of Rochdale life well before 1880, remained prominent throughout the period of study, but it was affected by changes in the law and in the brewing industry which had financial control over it. Although the years between 1880 and 1910 witness a small, if vocal band of people intent on temperance reform, the major opposition to drink came from the popularity of the alternatives offered by the newer leisure forms

such as the cinema and dance hall.

The organisation of commercially run leisure forms could have significant effects on the nature of the products and services which they offered. The cinema, which by 1939 was characterised by lateral and vertical integration, offered cinemagoers the opulent surroundings of the circuit owned super cinemas, where many American films, produced in large scale studios tuned to mass production, were shown. The gramophone record industry, itself the scene of major integration, depended on mass markets and cheap processes of production for its marked, if sporadic, progress in the inter-war years. High levels of investment by large firms such as HMV allowed mass production of low price records, many of which contained popular songs whose appeal lasted a few months, before a new favourite reached the market. The demand for profit, together with a tendency to commercial integration seen on the part of the capital based concerns, could also combine with the legal powers of the state to exert powerful influences in the sphere of leisure. The cinema and pub are two good examples of this. The former witnessed a rapid shift from a preponderance of travelling showmen, to a dependence on exhibitors based on one establishment, and this was largely due to the safety legislation of 1910. The local licensing policy, already forbidding the sale of drink in the music hall and variety theatre by 1880, meant that it was unthinkable that the cinema should in any way be associated with alcohol. The pub in Rochdale was affected by anti drink policy also, which having the effect of reducing the number of licences most noticeably before 1914, helped precipitate a scramble for retail outlets on the part of the breweries. These developments took place alongside a long term tendency to commercial concentration in the

drink trade, the larger members of which led the improved public house movement during the inter-war years. Such factors of change are discernable at the local level but here take the appearance of effects; increasingly the decisions were being made at the hub of national concerns within the stipulations laid down by statutes of nationally applicable laws, hence the larger area of focus adopted in chapters 6 and 10.

The two major themes of this study - on the one hand, patterns of activity and on the other, institutional development - whilst separated for analytical purposes belong together. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the major transformations seen in spending habits during the Great Depression. The prototype for increased spending on leisure during the 60 year period is present in the first example of major working class participation in a growing retail market for food, household goods and clothing located in the last quarter of the 19th century. The extension in the use of commercial and non-commercial leisure forms which followed depended on the increasing availability of time and money for private consumption. This sphere of private consumption was open, to varying degrees, to people of all classes, though its advent was particularly noticeable amongst the working class.

The leisure-based institutions that developed in Rochdale between 1880 and 1939 cannot be viewed solely as effecters of change, for they were themselves moulded by their contact with the local population. These institutions were affected by their audiences and their participants; for example attendances at the cinemas and dance halls were brought into an existing routine of social contact between youths. This included the practice of parading but also the chatting

and horseplay that took place in the large groups of young people that congregated in certain areas of the town centre. The newer leisure forms could also offer a fillip to changes in the social conventions that were already taking place; the cinema became a place where women could go unencumbered by taboos attached to their visits to the pub.

Non-work time was valued since it offered a period of relative freedom, in which - depending on the amount of time and money available - there could be some recompense for the negative effects of work. For many, the highest expression of this relative freedom was the Saturday night out, when a trip to the pub, variety theatre, cinema or dance hall was common. The escape - and sometimes the oblivion - offered by such leisure forms were however subject to time disciplines, hardly less apparent than in the sphere of paid work. The cinemas had set times for the showing of films, the dance halls were open between specified hours of the day and evening, and the pub had its hours of business clearly determined by law. Outings to such venues were also dependent on having the price of a drink or a ticket of entry, and depending on the establishment chosen, they also dictated certain standards of behaviour.

for the working class in particular non-work time was a highly fertile area for the creation of meaning. Although these meanings were often powerfully influenced by the sphere of work - for example, the importance attached to having a good time on a Saturday night as a form of relief from the effects of labour, or the important identity of wage earner/leisure spender described by some interviewees - they are not synonimous with it. In this 60 year period increased amounts of time and money for private consumption offered a new context for the creation of the meaning, but also the practices

associated with leisure. This was a period of extended scope for those aspects of working class culture most tightly bound up with non-work time. Equally though, it was a phase in which important sections of capital gained a major role as organisers of working class leisure. Consequently capital gained an enhanced stake in, and level of control over leisure, at the very period in which time spent away from the workplace was becoming a more significant component of working class culture.

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

The people who were interviewed in the course of this study were promised anonymity and, consequently, each individual has been given a pseudonym. Individuals are listed below in alphabetical order of pseudonym. The column marked 'Tape Number(s)' indicates the recording which may be consulted, *e.g.* the interviews completed with Mrs Abbott will be found on cassette number 35, sides A and B, plus tape 104, side A. The year of birth and a brief occupational biography are also listed for each person. Unless otherwise stated, occupations such as doffing, spinning, winding, warping, beaming and weaving relate to the manufacture of cotton goods. The term 'cotton mill worker' indicates that a person has had a succession of different jobs within the cotton textile production process.

Name	Tape Number(s)	Year of Birth	Paid Occupation(s)
Mrs Abbott	35A 35B 104A	1907	Winder Print worker
Mr Allwork	49A 49B	1910	Bricklayer
Mr Bailey	33A 33B 103A	1911	Wool piecer Wool spinner
Mrs Barker	32A	1900	Doffer Spinner
Mr Barrington	51A 51B 104B	1908	Electricity supply engineer
Mrs Bennett	28A 28B	1900	Cotton mill worker Maid
Mr Black	26A 26B	1908	Cotton mill worker
Mrs Casson	12A 12B	1917	Officer worker Weaver

Name	Tape Number(s)	Year of Birth	Paid Occupation(s)
Mrs Challinor	25A 25B	1910	Spinner Warper
Mrs Clegg	47A 47B 107A	1983	Office worker
Mrs Clarke	39A	1928	Cotton mill worker Shop assistant Unskilled engineering worker
Mrs Elliot	20A 20B 103B	1904	Cotton mill worker Munitions worker Bookshop assistant Waitress Warehouse worker
Mr Entwistle	56A 56B	1896	Dyer
Mr Farrow	15A 15B	1901	Cotton mill worker Brewery labourer Cloth winder Munitions worker Policeman
Mr Fawcet	52A 52B	1896	Retail manager - Co-op
Mrs Ferguson	40A 40B 110B	1926	Shop assistant Weaver
Mr Fielding	30A 30B	1904	Apprentice weaver Greengrocer
Mr Finn	27A 2B	1895	Ring spinner Builder's labourer
Mrs Gardiner	23A 23B	1891	Telephonist
Miss Garnett	11A	1913	Typist Stage dance teacher
Mrs Gilbert	31A 31B 101A	1902	Ring spinner
Mr Hall	42A 42B	1900	Builder's labourer
Mrs Harrison	13B	1907	Spinner
Mrs James	22A 22B 102B	1911	Chambermaid Unskilled engineering Worker Cotton mill worker
Miss Kay	5A 5B	1909	Wool weaver
Mr King	18A 101B	1910	Teacher

Name	Tape Number(s)	Year of Birth	Paid Occupation(s)
Mr Knight	59A 59B	1912	Doffer Cotton mill labourer
Mr Law	60A 60B 102A	1928	Engineer - skilled
Miss Long	No tape recording made, see Appendix 3, page	1890	Teacher
Mrs Marshall	29B 32B 105B	1904	Weaver Chip shop owner
Mrs Martin	10A 10B	1912	Office worker Teacher
Mrs Mason	54B 55B 110A	1899	Ring spinner
Mrs Masters	19A 19B	1901	Ring spinner Barmaid
Mrs Nuttall	No tape recording made, see Appendix 3, page	1900	Assistant theatre manager
Mrs Ogden	13A	1909	Doffer Cotton mill worker
Mr Ogden	6B 11B	1904	Cotton mill worker
Mrs Openshaw	46A 46B	1905	Packer - office goods
Mr Parker	14A 14B	1907	Cost accountant Insurance representative
Mr Parkin	21A 21B	1905	Warehouseman
Mrs Parkin	18B	1903	Weaver
Mr Redfern	6A	1904	Wool spinner
Mr Rhodes	36A 36B	1903	Cotton jobber Parks worker
Mrs Rigg	57A 57B 108B	1904	Receptionist
Mrs Riley	16A 16B	1907	Doffer Winder Laundry manageress Nursery superintendent
Mr Robb	50A 50B 109A	1902	Farm labourer Lorry driver

Name	Tape Number(s)	Year of Birth	Paid Occupation(s)
Mrs Schofield	7A 7B	1912	Housemaid
Mrs Scott	24A 24B 105A	1917	Doffer Ring spinner
Mrs Seddon	34A	1898	Ring spinner
Mr Sewell	58A 58B 109B	1898	Cotton mill worker Lorry driver
Miss Shaw	43A 43B	1889	Winder Beamer
Mr Tasker	8A 8B	1905	Weaver Councillor
Mr Tate	3A 3B 106A	1889	Skilled engineer
Mr Tatham	37A 37B	1899	Wool spinner Carder
Mr Tattersall	4A 4B 106B	1901	Wool spinner Welder Foreman (cotton mill)
Mr Tetlow	38A 38B 107B	1903	Doffer Skilled engineer
Mr Tipper	44A 44B	1901	Skilled engineer
Mrs Todd	53A 53B 108A	1900	Cotton mill worker Munitions worker
Mr Tomlinson	17A 17B	1901	Journalist
Mr Walker	48A 48B	1894	Cotton mill worker Munitions worker Tram driver
Mrs Walsh	55A	1901	Machine embroiderer Barmaid
Mr Warburton	45A 45B	1914	Skilled leatherworker
Mr Watson	9A 9B	1903	Tradesman - retail
Mrs Watts	41A 41B	1913	Clerk - Civil Service Teacher
Mr Weir	1A 1B 2A	1896	Doffer Weaver Industrial Welfare Officer

APPENDIX 2

THE LIST OF TOPICS USED AS AN INTERVIEW GUIDE

Below are listed the themes which formed the checklist of topics for the interviews. The interviews were completed in two phases. In 1979, responses were recorded with some 64 people, with the help of the 'Checklist of Themes for the First Interview'. In 1981, 20 people from the original sample were interviewed on the basis of the 'Checklist of Themes for the Second Interview'. These 20 people were selected to reflect the age, class and gender characteristics of the larger sample of 64 interviewees.

Checklist of Themes for the First Interview

Name
Present Address
Year of birth
Birthplace
Marital status
Education
Occupation

1. Parents
   a) Your parents' occupations?
   b) How many brothers and sisters, age differences?

2. Parental Home
   a) Did each of you have chores? (decorating/coal brought in)
   b) What happened in free time in the house? (music, reading)
   c) Did you have visitors/callers? How often?
   d) Describe neighbourhood. How often did you see your neighbours?

3. Leisure Outside Parental Home
   a) Mother's interests outside home. (What did she do, with whom etc)

b) Dad's interests outside home. (what, how often, with whom)

c) Involvement with church and chapel.

d) Unemployment.

e) Home/outside home balance.

f) Describe the room (furnishings) where spent most time.

4. Childhood Leisure

a) Games, hobbies, sports?

b) Organisations? boy scouts/girl guides.

c) Church, chapel. esp. treats and trips.

d) Holiday?

e) Concerts, theatre, cinema, music hall?

f) Comics? Which?

5. Work Before Leaving Home

a) Name places and describe jobs.

b) Works clubs or outings?

c) How much of wage spent on leisure activities at this time? How apportioned?

d) Did starting work change your spare time habits?

e) Hours and wage.

f) What did you do during meal and tea breaks?

6. Work after Leaving Parental Home

a) Name places and describe jobs.

b) Works organisations?

c) How much wage spent on enjoyment and recreation now?

d) The depression, how this affected you?

e) Hours and wage.

f) Spouse's job, hours and wage.

g) What did you do during lunch or tea breaks when not eating/drinking?

7. Leisure/Attitudes to Leisure before Leaving Parents' Home and Once Working

a) How did you spent your free time during the week?

b) When you came home from work?

c) Weekends?

d) Parents' attitude to what you did in spare time?

e) Any forbidden places?

f) Courtship, where did you meet?

8. Leisure/Attitudes to Leisure after Leaving Parents' Home

a) Did your habits change? (Marriage, children)

b) Did you usually go out together or separately?

c) Hobbies (ex. billiards). Decorating and chores. Living room.

d) What were your neighbours like in the house(s) you lived in after marriage?

9. World War I

a) Can you remember any major changes during W.W.I.?

b) Family, what was 'done' or not 'done'?

10. Church and Chapel

a) How often did you go to social events after you were married?

b) Why do you think most people went?

c) Describe gathering.

d) What kind of people went?

e) Did social events remain as popular all through your recollection of them?

f) Holidays or outings?

g) Men/women balance?

11. Cinema

a) When was first visit (what showing? price? full?)?

b) How often did you go? Who with?

c) Popularity - various cinemas?

d) Expensive?

e) Which nights most popular?

f) Which seats did you sit in? Favourite cinema, dress?

g) What kinds of people went?

h) Men/women ratio?

i) How respectable?

12. Dance Halls

a) When first went? Why? Which?

b) Entrance fee? Full or not?

c) How often? Who with?

d) Did all classes of people go?

e) When most popular?

f) Was there a difference in the places where you danced?

g) Women/men ratio.

13. Holidays and Excursions

a) Where was first such? Who with?

b) Wakes? Easter? Whit?

c) Favourite resort?

d) Transport?

e) How often day trips?

f) When did you first get holidays with pay?

14. Gramophone and Wireless

a) When did you own your first gramophone? Cost? Common?

b) How often did you listen? Any particular time?

c) Records? Cost? What kind?

d) Wireless set; when first owned one? Cost? Common?

e) Favourite programmes?

f) How often on? Any routine?

15. Music Hall

a) How often did you go? Who with? Cost?

b) Families go? What do you think the music hall stood for?

c) Women/men ratio?

d) Recollections? Respectability?

e) Repeat questions on the theatre.

16. Pubs

a) How many pubs in your neighbourhood?

b) Did you have a favourite? (Describe, clubs, socials, trips etc)

c) How often did you use it?

d) all kinds of people?

e) Men/women ratio? (Did W.W.I. bring any change?)

f) W.W.I. - did it change people's drinking habits?

g) Name breweries?

h) Any pubs in town notorious for drunkards?

17. Secular Societies

a) Were you member of: Co-op societies (Education etc)
CTC
Rambling Society
Temperance Society?

b) How large was group?

18. Workingmen's Clubs

a) Member? How often did you go? What were opening hours?

b) Entrance fee?

c) Main events?

d) How popular?

18. Sport

a) Did you play?

b) Did you watch?

19. Newspapers and Magazines

a) Which?

b) How often and when read?

Checklist of Themes for the Second Interview

Childhood

1. Did you have any regular 'spence' or pocket money as a child?
   That is, before you started work?
   How much?
   What was it spent on?

2. Was there any particular reason for playing outside?

3. Who did you play with?

4. Why did you go to Chapel/Church/Sunday School?
   If parental pressure, why do you think this was so?

5. When did you stop going?
   Why?

6. (If app.) Where did you play 'knock-a-door-run' and games like that?

7. (If app.) Did you play football, cricket and rounders in your own street ever?

   If not, why?

   Where did you play?

Teens

8. Please think about when you were a teenager and had left school. How many nights a week did you go out?

   Which?

   Did this vary? Why?

9. How would you decide whether or not you could go out?

10. If you had worked shorter hours and had more pay could you have gone out more?

11. How did you decide where to go?

12. Who did you go out with?

13. When you were a teenager, what made you go out rather than stay at home?

   What persuaded you to go out?

   Where was this (usually)?

14. How important was it to you to be able to go out when you were a teenager?

15. Can you think about the time you spent at work and also your spare time, and say how these two compared?

Post-teens or Marriage

16. If you had worked shorter hours and had more pay, would you have gone out more?

   Where?

17. What were the reasons for going out once you were married/out of your teens?

18. Was it as important to go out then as it was in your teens?

19. (If appropriate) Why did you send your children to Church/Chapel/ Sunday School?

20. Can you compare your parents' lives to yours? Who would you say had the greater enjoyment of their spare time?

Why?

APPENDIX 3

A SYNOPTIC ACCOUNT OF THE TAPE RECORDED INTERVIEWS

The interviews below are listed in the order of their completion. The three digit figures in brackets refer to the I.P.S. number registered by the tape recorder at the time of playback. The account includes recordings made in 1979 and 1981, the former entitled First Series and the latter Second Series.

First Series of Interviews

Mr J. Weir Interviewed 8.2.79

Born 1896; Ardwick, Manchester.

His occupations: doffer, weaver, industrial welfare officer.

Tape 1A

Details of family.
Parental home and domestic chores.
Domestic entertainments.
Neighbourhood.
Mother a church worker.
Entertainments at church, parties and dances.
Effects of World War One on church life. (183)
Father's leisure: church and pub.
Childhood play.
Gender and play. (256)
Where played ball games.
Town centre as meeting place for teenagers.
Visits to Ireland to see relatives as a child. (295)
Theatre trips to Rochdale and Manchester.
Work.
First job - doffing - hated this.
Later jobs in mills and eventually as an industrial welfare officer.

Tape 1B

Hours of work at Turners mill in 1911 as 'can lad'.

Wages earned as half timer and in various full time jobs compared.

After work, in the week would be involved with Labour party work, and have a drink.

Married 1919.

Never a teetotaller, had the odd drink. (205)

Social life at Catholic churches in Rochdale.

Effects of World War One; church and family.

Cinema: first picture seen. (304)

Went to cinema every Saturday afternoon as children.

Preferred theatre, however.

La Scale cinema always full.

First talkie 'The Jazz Singer'. (335)

Seat prices and cheaper tickets on some nights of the week.

Dance halls.

Dancing lessons. (375)

Better class people danced.

Church halls and later Carlton as venues.

Turners dances (his employers).

Holidays: Morecambe and Lake District

Tape 2A

Gramophone: not common when first heard it.

Records owned and cost. (96)

Radio first set made for him by workmate, 1924/5.

What listened to on radio.

When listened.

Music hall and Theatre: Empire.

Rialto most expensive place he recalled.

Pubs: importance of pub as social centre. (224)

Breweries and beer.

Rowdiness in pubs, one night a week - Saturday.

Cobden St., Leek St., Dick St., Vine Pl. worst.

Sport: supported Hornets (Rugby) team. Where travelled.

Entrance fees.

Never a member of a working men's club.

Mr P. Tate Interviewed 9.2.79

Born 1889; South Shields, County Durham.

His occupation: skilled turner (engineering).

Tape 3A

Parents, brothers and sisters.

Parental home: few chores save shopping. Toys as a child.

Mother and father's spare time in the home. (98)

Birthday and christmas parties.

Mother went to Chapel; sewing and women's meetings.

Mother otherwise busy in home. (180)

Father more interested in Chapel - lay preacher.

Parents spent most of their spare time in the home.

As child saw first cinematograph at chapel.

Sunday School.

Cinema and Music Hall in 'teens (year 1906).

Place of work in Manchester.

Wage and overtime. Lodgings and spending.

Worked 1907 to 1957. Holroyds factory.

Hours and wage in 1916. (385)

Once married rarely went out to cinema.

Wife's paid work.

Father forbade Music Hall. Allowed him to go to cinema in teens.

Teetotal and eventually a non smoker.

Liked reading. Comics for his children. Newspapers read at night.

Chores in married home.

Walking with wife.

Holidays: Holiday Fellowship.

Wife went to ladies' classes at Chapel.

Much of social life centred on Chapel. Otherwise rarely went out.

Church and Chapel: details of attendance and socialising afterwards.

Tape 3B

Cinema: attendance - not a habit. Popular with most people. (150)

Music Hall had a bad name. (155)

Dance Halls: never went, but wife could dance.

Church and Chapel dances.

Holidays as child and once adult. (249) (400)

Gramophone - uncle's machine heard first. Own and records. Preferred singing at piano with his wife.

Wireless: made his own. What was listened to and times for listening.

Sport: watched Hornets with son in law; listened to football on wireless.

Member of Cine and Photographic Society.

Mr J. Tattersall Interviewed 14.2.79

Born 1901; Littleborough, near Rochdale.

His occupations: wool spinner, welder, foreman in cotton mill.

Tape 4A

Parents.

Domestic details: few chores.

Reading in the home: newspapers and comics.

Toys.

Piano. Singsongs.

Neighbours visited. (112)

Relatives called seldom.

Mother rarely went out - but when she did she went to church. Parents' lives limited by keeping a pub. (155)

Childhood play.

Church: member of choir. Social life at church.

Church trips.

Concerts at Sunday School.

Numbers of scholars attending.

Men and women's classes at chapel: attendances. (461)

Theatre and Empire (music hall).

Work: first half timer, then succession of jobs.

Saturday night out. (531)
Cost of night out.
His idea of a night out then.
Hours of work.
Wage.
Spending on entertainment varied.
Marriage 1928. Depression. (614)
Before courting rugby team took most of his time.
Valued home life more after marriage. (653)
Hobbies.
Women and lads employed during World War One.
Church: went irregularly once married.
Church a habit with many.
Class distinction and cliques at his local chapel.
Hierarchies concerning churches and denominations.
Leading families within churches.
His own chapel and the local Anglican church.

Tape 4B

Church outings and holidays. Rambles. (100)
Men/women ratio.
Cinema: which ones attended. How often went.
Who went with. Prices. Weekends most popular.
Courting night for him Wednesday, otherwise stopped at home.
Seats and ticket prices. (162)
Coliseum seen as scruffy.
Dance Halls: Sunday School dances.
Cost of dances.
Dancing taboo before 1919 in his local chapel.
Balderstone Hall and Labour Club dances frowned on. (247)
Carlton: good name.
Private dances for well-to-do.
Went into town in mixed or male groups of friends.
Holidays: childhood and adulthood.
Holidays, few other than with church. (310)
Gramophone and Radio.

Music Hall: turns.

Pubs. Rarely went out. Notorious pubs mentioned.

Parents' pub.

Sport: on village rugby team. Played cricket, watched rugby. Sunday school football teams.

Miss Kay Interviewed 15.2.79

Born 1909; Norden, Rochdale.

Occupation: woollen weaver.

Tape 5A

Parents.

Siblings.

Parental home: chores and leisure activity. Reading. Visitors. Sunday important day for callers.

Mother rarely went out.

Summer: outside play as a child. Games (360)

Sunday school.

Allowed to go to first house of pictures on Saturday as a child.

Tape 5B

Work: out of work 1926 (3 months)

Hours of work. Wage.

Parents' attitude to leisure.

Father had to be consulted.

Times to be in as teenager.

Church and Chapel. St Clement's.

Picnics.

Reasons for going - social not spiritual.

Holidays and outings at church. Tennis.

Whit Friday.

[Elites at church. (558)]

Cinema: never during week as went to night school.

Cinema establishments attended and films seen.

Children's matinee and cost.

Coliseum looked down on. (289) Sex ratio.

Groups of boys and girls went and paired-off.

Dance halls: church ran dances. Cost.

Private dances.

Parading: Falinge Road, then Drake St for older ones. (363)

Yorkshire St frowned on as place for meeting boys.

Holidays and trips - wakes week.

Gramophone: HMV 1916; music played.

Cost of records.

Song salons at seaside. (470)

Radio: first set 1920s. Crystal set.

Pubs: seen as notorious in her family.

Women and pubs. Pubs and prostitutes.

Mr C. Redfern Interviewed 16.2.79

Born 1904; Littleborough, near Rochdale.

Occupation: woollen spinner.

Tape 6A

Parents.

Siblings.

Domestic duties.

Reading in home popular.

Few callers, save neighbours who were always dropping in.

Chapels, churches and pubs main resorts for local people before 1910.

Father rarely went out, and this was the case with his mother.

Childhood games. Church Lads Brigade.

Half time work.

Full time work, rarely worked due to short-time in 1920s.

Wages.

Pub and church. (226)

Cinemas: when went, cost, what saw.

90% working class audience.

Dance halls: church and chapel dances first.

Holidays: first as scout, otherwise too poor. (343)

Gramophone. (359)

Crystal wireless.

Pubs.

Sport: played cricket on local team. Watched Hornets.

Mrs Schofield Interviewed 27.2.79

Born 1912; South Elmsall, Nr. Doncaster.

Occupation: housemaid.

Came to Rochdale in 1932.

Tape 7A

People in South Elmsall did not know leisure she felt.

Comparison between women's role in South Elmsall and Rochdale.

Domestic work.

Work left for children by her mother.

Work done often for its own sake. (353)

Cinemas came to village (South Elmsall).

Pictures seen, nights most popular with villagers.

Clubs in village.

Her hours of work in service - little spare time. (508)

Half day at weekend free. Employers were strict about her being out late at night.

Cinema - wanted escape.

Favourite stars.

Dancing. Places danced at. Tea dances. Carlton.

Tape 7B

Savings for holidays during her teens. (005)

Blackpool: good value, £3 full board.

Travelled there by train.

Saturday night trips to Blackpool to dance.

Radio: first in house where in service - listened whilst on call.

Gramophone. Seaside song rooms.

Went to chapel. Tried several with friend.

Mr E. Tasker Interviewed 28.2.79

Born 1905; Burnley, Lancashire.

Occupation: weaver, later councillor and M.P.

Tape 8A

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Domestic chores.

Father read and tended allotment.

Mother always in house.

Father took boys to football matches.

Sunday - best clothes.

Sunday school. (103)

Socialist Sunday School from age 10.

Visits from relatives and friends at weekends. (144)

Childhood games.

Chapel Field days.

Socialist Sunday School and ILP - Clarion House.

Variety Halls in Nelson. (240)

Starting work as apprentice weaver, taught by his father (year 1918).

'Tipping up' his wage.

Wages earned c. 1918.

Hours worked.

Slump.

Parents and their attitudes to his leisure. (312)

Smoking.

Chapel and ILP. (346)

'Love learning, which is the food of the mind'.

Marriage and leisure spending.

More time spent at home, yet was a trades union organiser, so had little spare time.

The activities he and his wife were involved in. (421)

Cinema twice a week, Tuesday and Saturday.

Cinema-going a habit.

Seats - costs - booked on Saturday nights.

Regal and Rialto cinemas 'posh'.

World War One - food short.

Did not go to church once came to Rochdale.

Dance halls.

Billiard and Snooker halls.

Holidays - always had a week's holiday, 1929 to 1939. Southport or Blackpool.

Coach tour.

Holidays with pay.

Gramophone played in winter months.

Records and artists; cost.

Wireless - parents had one. Bought his in 1930s.

Tape 8B

Wireless - no set routines for listening.

Wife listened a lot.

Music Hall and Theatre.

Pubs - did not go, as teetotal.

National Cyclists Union member.

Played tennis after married.

Watched cricket and football, costs and gates of latter.

Miss P. Garnett Interviewed 8.3.79

Born 1913; Formby, near Southport.

Occupation: stage dance teacher (semi professional).

Tape 11A

Parents.

Only child.

Domestic routine.

Handicrafts, dancing, little visiting of relatives. Street games. (130)

Mother and father's time in home. (334)

Shopping.

Guides: hikes and camping.

chapel pantomimes and events.

Visiting relatives for holidays.

Theatre and cinema. Music Hall.

Starting work. Lunch hour activity.

Training as dance teacher.

Giving wage to parents.

Leisure once married - Ladies Guild. Walks.

Dance halls - Carlton.

church and Chapel dances. Private dances.

Holidays - Wales.

Gramophone, Radio.

Mr N. Watson Interviewed 7.3.79

Born 1903; Cheetham St, Rochdale.

Occupation: tradesman (retail). J.P., Councillor, and became Mayor post-1945.

Tape 9A

Parents.

Mother and family business.

Childhood pastimes.

Sunday School - Methodist.

Boy Scouts.

St Mary's Church and leading families.

Baillie St Methodist Church, leading families.

Turner family. (602)

Sunday School and dress of children. class.

Tape 9B

Childhood pastimes: stamp collecting, toys.

Starting work at 17.

Hours of work. First wage £4.

Teetotal; pubs taboo.

Family relationships were relaxed with World War One. (385)

Holidays as child - stayed with grandmother in Blackpool.

Wales or Scarborough once married.

Cinema. First visit. Also Union St Pictures.

Radio.

Music hall. Hippodrome - turns he saw.

Families at Theatre, though he did not go.

Novels - authors mentioned.

Newspapers and magazines.

Mrs P. Martin Interviewed 7.3.79

Born 1912; Castleton, Rochdale.

Occupation: office worker.

Tape 10A

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Chores: division of labour in home.

House and neighbourhood. Living room as centre of activity.

Musical evenings. Parties.

Friends and family in at weekends.

Cycling on Sundays in teens.

Political meetings.

Sunday night on Town Hall Square - speakers.

More time spent in home than out.

Coliseum Cinema on Saturday afternoon.

Childhood play - season for everything.

Winter Warmers.

Pranks and mischief in the neighbourhood.

Socialist Sunday School, house at Naden.

Holidays only once working; save one holiday to Blackpool with mother.

Flatlets at Blackpool in late teens.

Theatre with parents: D'Oyle Carte.

Did not go to music hall.

Theatre with friends in early teens - in 'gods'.

Cinema - went more once courting.

Local cinema usually frequented.

Comics read as a child: *Children's Newspaper*.

Brothers had *Magnet*.

Read history books.

Starting work at 17.

Hours and wage.

'Tipping up' wages.

Spending money, and what was bought.

Irlam's tripe restaurant.

Not allowed to be out on streets.

Mother strict; times for being home.

Set nights for courting.

Lunchtimes at work.

Married leisure: bike riding. C.T.C.

World War One brought more relaxed atmosphere socially; less class distinction.

Cinema; favourite places, where sat. Cost and films. Audiences.

Holidays touring with bikes once married.

Wireless: programmes, times for listening.

Dance halls: only went to private dances at first, later to Carlton.

Pubs: did not go until married. Taboos for single women.

Off licenses.

Sport.

Mrs Casson Interviewed 9.3.79

Born 1917; Norden, Rochdale.

Occupation: office worker, then textile worker (wearer and blanket finisher).

Tape 12A

Parents.

Sisters and brother.

Chores in the home.

Pastimes in home. Board games, piano, crystal set.

Little reading done before teens.

Member of library - went every other day.

No comics.

A lot of callers on Sunday; relations and friends from church.

House parties on Sunday nights. Played piano.

Too busy on week nights for visitors.

Chapel pantomimes or Guides.

Neighbourhood; description.

Father: chapel and football matches.

Mother: chapel.

Parents spent most of spare time in home.

Childhood games.

Guides.

Chapel as a child. Trouble when neglected to go in teens.

Hiking club.

Holidays - a week at Southport at Wakes.

Concerts at Sunday School.

Theatre: didn't go until teens.

Mother disapproved of cinema.

First job. Hours and pay.

Office job.

Social Club at Highams.

Night school.

How money spent on leisure.

Pictures or cheap dance hall.

Mother bought clothes.

Increase in spending money as wage increased.

Change of job to support sick husband.

Times set for being in in the evenings.

Marriage and children. (509)

Cinema: cost and frequency of visits.

Cinemas full. Queues.

Went to cinema less after marriage.

Theatre favourite. Cost.

Dancing - train to Blackpool Tower Ballroom for the evening.

Sunday School 'hops'. Cost.

Tape 12B

Holidays, rarely went for more than a day once married.

Gramophone: music liked.

Radio: programmes. Husband listened a lot.

Pubs: did not go in.

Rechabites, member when young.

Band of Hope.

Drink and Poverty. (174)

Newspapers read.

Mrs Ogden Interviewed 12.3.79

Born 1909; Rochdale.

Occupation: textile worker.

Tape 13A

Parents.

Sisters and brothers.

Domestic chores. Paid help for washing.

Learnt to play piano.

Father's spare time in home.

Visitors: friends and relatives.

Visited grandparents at weekends.

Neighbourhood: Ernest Terrace.

Mother's leisure: pictures and church.

Father went to pub.

Sunday School, Guides, Concerts.

Theatre once working, cost and frequency.

Comics.

Starting work: hours and pay.

Works outing.

Leisure: parental guidelines.

Lunchtimes at work.

Social club.

Marriage: felt chained to home. (341)

Better holidays: stayed in hotels.

Played cards in home for buttons.

Went out one night a week with friends from work.

Church and chapel: St. Mary's, once married.

All classes there.

Ladies' class.

Cinema: regular visitor.

Cost of cinema. More women than men there.
Respectability.

Dance halls. Fire Station. (446)

Carlton - very respectable.

Holidays: once a year, Wakes, Blackpool.

Gramophone.

Radio.

Pubs once married, with husband.

Mrs Nuttall Interviewed 12.3.79

Born - no answer given to question about date of birth; Chadderton.

Occupation: theatre usherette (wife of manager).

No tape recording - see notes taken during interview, held in box, marked 'tape recordings'.

Front of house work.

Costume work.

Variety and revues at Theatre Royal, Rochdale.

Lean times of 1930s.

1934 worst for business.

Northern Theatres Ltd were her employers.

Regular clientele at Theatre Royal.

Cost of seats.

Mr Ogden Interviewed 13.3.79

Born 1904; Rochdale.

Occupation: mill worker, later overlooker.

Tape 6B

Parents.

Sisters.

Shared chores.

Visitors played cards at weekends, out of sight of children.

Mother rarely went out. Chapel likeliest resort.

Worked a lot in home. (210)

Father: teetotal.

Childhood games.

Boy scouts.

Chapel: Castlemere Methodists.

Holidays once half-timer.

Cunningham's Camp.

Cinema: age 10.

Theatre when older.

Comics.

Robinsons started sports club, 1935.

Starting work: wages, hours.

Wife's work.

Parental limits set on his leisure.

Cinema viewed as improper. (463)

Violin - played for dances.

Marriage and changes in leisure habits.

Chapel - men's classes.

Cinema - once a week, got babysitter.

Dance halls: 6d 'hops'. Rowdy and respectable dances.

Holidays once married: cost and resorts.

Tape 11B

Gramophone: did not own one.

Radio: programmes and times for listening.

Music Hall not popular with him but went to theatre once to play in pantomime band.

Pubs: did not go.

Member of Rechabites.

Sport: Sunday School football.

Watched rugby.

Newspapers.

Mr E. Parker Interviewed 19.3.79

Born 1907; Rochdale.

Occupations: engineering cost accountant, Pearl Insurance Representative. Semi-professional musician.

Tape 14A

Parents.

Brother.

No chores to do in the home.

Visitors, pastimes, relatives at weekends.

Parents' involvement with church.

Father had a car.

Childhood play.

Went to church - choirboy.

Southport every year for holidays.

Played violin.

Went to pictures with friends for 1d.

Comics.

Starting work: earnings and hours.

Pearl Insurance.

Courting.

Spending money.

Playing violin.

Did not attend church or chapel once married.

Cinema: where went: nights went; seats.

Dance halls: played for private dances, 'highbrows' at Town Hall.

Tape 14B

Holidays once working.

Gramophone.

Wireless.

Pub: met there after a game of billiards.

Classes of pub. (207)

Few women in pubs.

Spectator sports.

Mrs Harrison Interviewed 19.3.79

Born 1907; Rochdale.

Occupation: spinner.

Tape 13B

Parents.

Brother.

Domestic chores.

Pastimes in home - games. A lot of callers to home.

Play outside home.

Neighbourhood.

Mother went to church.

Father and mother had a drink: went to pub for last hour often.

Went on holiday every year.

Went to cinema: Empire and Pearl White.

Went to St John's Mission.

Band of Hope.

Comics.

Spending money.

Starting work: hours and work.

Set times for coming in as teenager.

Cinema: places and companions.

Fair.

Dance halls were forbidden by her father.

Holidays once married - stayed with relatives.

Radio.

Sport.

Pub: visited relatives who kept a pub.

Newspapers.

Mr Farrow Interviewed 20.3.79

Born 1901; Macclesfield, Cheshire.

Occupations: brewery labourer, brass finishing, sack making, cloth winding, fibre making, shell making, docker, soldier, policeman, fireman.

Tape 15A

Parents.

Brother.

Domestic routines.

Evening jobs in cinema.

Few callers in his house.

Mother went to church and Mothers' Union.

Childhood games.

Films seen as a child.

Cinemas in Manchester.

Music Hall.

Comics.

Starting work in Rochdale as fireman/policeman.

Clubs and societies.

Tipping up his wage.

Hours of work.

Wages.

Rarely went out after work.

Didn't go out a lot when married. (520)

Tape 15B

Church and chapel were out of the question due to a lack of time.

Cinema - went once a fortnight.

Cost at Coliseum. Often got in free.

Cinemas - popularity and audiences.

Did not have to dress up to go.

Families at cinema.

Respectable.

Dance halls - did not go.

Holidays - went once in the police force.

Where went and cost.

Gramophone - always had one - cost of records.

Wireless - speaker system in firemen's houses.

Theatre - Hippodrome and Theatre Royal.

Pubs - Market House Tavern. Town centre pubs as businessmen's meeting places. (List)

Rough pubs in Mount area of the town. (Whitehall St.) Most pubs respectable.

Breweries and popularity.

Miss Long Interviewed 27.5.79

Born 1890

Occupation: teacher at Girls' Grammar School.

No Tape Recording - see notes taken during interview, held in box marked 'tape recordings'.

Mother.

Sisters and brothers.

Chores.

Read quite a lot.

Had quite a lot of visitors in the parental home - father's and mother's relatives.

Childhood.

Holidays. Blackpool, Isle of Man, Southport, Paris.

Didn't go to cinema.

Music Hall - didn't go.

Theatre - shakespeare.

Gramophone in parental home.

No comic books - parental disapproval.

No dancing or frequenting of pubs.

Coop education meetings and rambling.

Mrs E. Riley Interviewed 28.3.79

Born 1907; Rochdale.

Occupations: doffer, then winder, then laundrette manageress, followed by post as supervisor of a mill nursery.

Tape 16A

Parents.

Brothers.

Chores. (100)

Routine concerning Thursday nights.

Corkwork.

she was not allowed to go out very much as a child.

Father went to his allotment, also had a drunk.

Marbles and other childhood games.

Parading.

Girl Guides.

Whit Friday Fields at Chapel.

Tape 16B

Equal sex ratio at Union St chapel.

Holidays as a child - stayed with relatives.

Day trips once working.

Pictures - Saturday matinee: times and cost.

Shoes kept for wear on Sunday.

Films seen, cinemas patronised.

Hippodrome seen as respectable.

Went to theatre.

Starting work: first full-time wage and spending. Hours of work.

Had little money once married; walked a lot. (490)

Saturday nights around piano.

Stayed in due to lack of cash; husband on the dole. She took in washing.

Church.

Cinema - depending on cash.

Dancing - school hall, private and Drill Hall.

Drill Hall dances looked on as rough. (565)

Holidays - board, savings.

Wireless - first radio.

Pubs - suppers given. Separate rooms for husbands and wives.

Mr H. Tomlinson Interviewed 29.3.79

Born 1901; Hurstead, near Rochdale.

Occupation: journalist, Rochdale Observer.

Tape 17A

Parents.

Chores.

Little entertainment in home.

Visits from relatives at weekends.

Chapel with parents - Methodists.

Father had a drink.

Whit Friday. (207)

Processions and fields - all denominations.

Easter at Hollingworth Lake. (254)

Childhood games.

Scouts.

Holidays as a child - Southport, Blackpool, Morecambe.

Comics, newspapers.

Worked long hours - little time for leisure; hours of work and first wage.

Church and chapel - Dearnley - leisure activities, alternative to pub.

Baillie Street the 'Cathedral' of Methodism in Rochdale. (560)

Tape 17B

Cinemas - local and town centre.

Billiards.

Dance halls - Carlton, church halls.

Holidays - Morecambe and Blackpool, or Southport; later Torbay.

No gramophone or wireless.

Music Hall and theatre; latter superior to cinema. (209)

Pubs - went as part of job.

Supporter of Rochdale Hornets; gates.

Cricket.

Working men's clubs.

Mr R. King Interviewed 30.3.79

Born 1910; Rochdale.

Occupation: teacher.

Tape 18A

Parents.

Brother.

No particular chores - helped with shopping.

Read a lot.

Most time spent out of the house.

Sunday nights family music night.

Callers were frequent.

Mother's interest gossip, father's his garden.

Church and Sunday School - social life revolved around these. (103)

Childhood play.

Boys Brigade.

Church - Whit Friday.

Holidays - Deal, Lowestoft, Isle of Man.

Church day trips at Whit.

Concerts.

Theatre Royal - Gilbert and sullivan.

Did not attend Music Hall.

Went quite regularly to cinema.

'2d Rush' at the Empire. (356)

Union Street. (361) Films shown.

Cost of entrance.

Comics - *Children's Newspaper*.

Arthur Mee. (413)

Went to training college.

Amateur dramatics played a major part in leisure time once married.

Tennis.

Watched Rugby - refereed matches.

Church and chapel - went more once married. Social events. (495) Popular with middle class. More women than men.

Cinema - went rarely - respectable.

Dances - private ones. Carlton also.

Holidays - away at Wakes. Abroad 1939.

Gramophone - HMV portable. Records. Cost.

Radio - listened a lot in the evening.

Theatre - went to plays - cost.

Pubs - rarely went, save Rugby Club meeting.

Sport - little Spectator involvement.

Newspapers - also periodicals.

Mrs E. Masters Interviewed 17.4.79

Born 1901; Heywood, Lancs.

Occupations: ring spinner, later barmaid.

Tape 19A

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Chores.

Neighbours came in a lot. (140)

Poor neighbourhood.

Mother tied to house (widow).

1930s, mother started to go to pictures. (217)

Childhood play.

Church - social events and services - mostly it was the latter at her church.

Class distinction at church. Whit Friday Walks.

After World War One church lost touch with the people. (324)

No holidays away from home 'till working.

Saved 2d per week at work.

Rushbearing processions.

Carnivals and fairgrounds, cost.

Church concerts.

Guardians and poor assistance.

Rarely went to cinema.

Starting work; wage and hours.

Time discipline. (480)

Spending habits.

Lunchtimes at work.

Husband's wage - husband drank.

Money controlled leisure. (600)

Mother disapproved of dancing. (610)

Went out separately (she and her husband).

Tape 19B

Too tired for hobbies - she had too much work in home once married.

World War One: people drew closer together.

Once married did not go to church.

Went a little more to cinema.

Cinemas and films seen. Cost. Popularity.

Did not dance.

Holidays: went with mother (even when married). Blackpool. (341)

Wireless: on all day.

Went to Hippodrome.

Pub: was a barmaid.

Yates' Blue Bell Inn: social hierarchy.

Local pubs and breweries.

Mrs Elliot Interviewed 17.4.79

Born 1904; Rochdale.

Occupations: ring spinner, cleaner, munitions work, bookshop assistant, waitress, warehouse worker.

Tape 20A

Parents.
Brothers and sisters.
Chores. (136)
Piano lessons.
Went shopping for her mother.
Went to Sunday School - concerts and pie suppers.
Little happening on week nights.
Visitors to house.
Mother went to chapel.
Father keen on gardening; also union business.
Went to cinema as a child.
childhood games.
Whit Friday Walks. (420)
Hobbies.
Sing-songs.
Chapel picnics.
Holiday - week in August - relatives in Blackpool.
Chapel concerts.
Dances - cost.
Plays at Palace.
Hippodrome and Empire Music Hall.
Comics.
Starting work - no recreation clubs.
'Tipping up'.
Hours of work and wage.
Saved up once married. (598)
Not allowed to go in pubs.
Second house at pictures only once courting.

Tape 20B

Economic depression - 1930s had little effect since husband out of work due to injury, 1929-39.

Economics in the home.

Shell manufacture during World War One.

Did not go to chapel once married.

Cinema, weekend especially. (116)

Once working went more.

Cinema respectable - little trouble.

Films.

Dancing: frowned on at first. Carlton.

Holidays.

Gramophone - used a lot.

Radio - made her own set. Played dance music.

Rarely went to pubs.

Mr Parkin Interviewed 18.4.79

Born 1905; Rochdale.

Occupation: warehouseman, printing.

Tape 21A

Mother did chores.

He could not speak about his father.

Lived with uncle and aunt.

Served in shop.

Had visitors.

Played outside a lot.

Childhood games.

No hobbies.

Boys' Life Brigade.

Chapel from age 12: entertainments.

Lowerplace Chapel: moneyed people.

Presbyterian Church 'a business people's church'.

Walker family.

Church and chapel trips.

Holidays - stay with relatives in Yorkshire.

1911 to Blackpool with uncle.

Theatre and Hippodrome.

Cinema.

No comics.

No works clubs.

Spending once started work.

Hours and wage.

Lunchtimes.

Parents did not like him home late.

After marriage went to church - but reduced attendance.

Cinema - matinees as child. Seats. Saturday nights.
No favourite cinema, save perhaps King's, or Empire.

Did not dance but watched: Carlton as well as chapel and church dances.

Holidays: honeymoon 1933 - cost.

Holidays every year since married.

Day trips, cost.

Holidays with pay post 1945.

Radio.

Music Hall - every week once married.

Pubs - did not drink.

Newspapers.

Mrs G. Parkin Interviewed 18.4.79

Born 1903; Rochdale.

Occupation: weaver, cotton.

Tape 18B

Parents.

Sister.

Home, house parties, visitors, singsongs.

People making their own entertainment. (098)

Homework after tea.

Little time for leisure in the week once working. (150)

Childhood games.

Church.

Cinema.

Starting work, wages, hours, spending.

Parental authority in her 'teens.

Church - Presbyterian.

Cinema - occasional.

Dances - Carlton.

Holidays - Easter and Rushbearing. No favourite resort: Wales, Scarborough, Gt. Yarmouth, Scotland, Southsea, once married.

Gramophone - had one when young with big horn, later portable.

Wireless - 1940.

Pubs - did not go in.

Mrs A. James Interviewed 23. 4.79

Born 1911; Brigshaw, Yorkshire.

Occupations: domestic help, hotel waitress and chambermaid.

Tape 22A

Parents.

Brother.

Household chores.

Father's hobbies.

Songs on Sunday evenings.

Visitors - relatives.

Mother sang in church choir.

Had to make own entertainment. (298)

Sunday School social events.

Childhood games.

Girl Guides.

Holidays - Bridlington, later to France for a day when living in Deal (Kent).

Theatres, concerts and dances in Deal in 'teens. (473)

Spending in 'teens once working.

Wages, tips, hours in hotel work.

Father told her to be careful - not to misbehave with men.

Once married spent less on entertainment.

Husband's wage, 1932, when married.

Tape 22B

St James Church social events.

Whit Friday processions.

Sex ratio at church.

Cinema - twice a week in Rochdale.

Favourite cinema. Seat prices.

Dancing - went to Sunday School dances.

Holidays - never missed once married; day trips and one week stays.

Gramophone - cylinder, music played.

Wireless - crystal set as child, later got a valve set. Programmes.

Music Hall - did not go in Rochdale.

Pubs - husband liked a drink.

She was early on in her life a member of the Temperance Society.

Mrs Gardiner Interviewed 24.4.79

Born 1891; Rochdale.

Occupation: telephonest following World War One, otherwise did no paid work.

Tape 23A

Parents.

Did not have to help with chores because had a maid.

Embroidery and musical evenings.

A lot of entertaining in the home.

Listened to row outside houses in the Mount (poor area).

Mother went to Providence Church.

Father did business in pubs.

Childhood play.

Chapel - field days. (390)

'Top' families at chapel.

Holidays - went a great deal.

Blackpool or Morecambe.

Theatre - went quite a lot; went to Manchester.

Parents allowed comics. (507)

Marriage, children, childcare, hobbies. (513)

Chapel - involvement in stalls, fundraising.

Took her children to chapel.

Fewer counter attractions to chapel then. (569)

Tape 23B

Cinema - seldom went.

Dancing - private dances: Carlton not appropriate to their status. (152)

Holidays - regularly once married.

No gramophone - live music instead.

Radio - crystal set (182) early on. always had latest set.

Pubs - husband went in on business - owned soft drink firm.

Father's piano shop.

Newspaper.

Mrs Scott Interviewed 26.4.79

Born 1917; Rochdale.

Occupations: doffer, ring spinner.

Tape 24A

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Chores. (112)

Father worked overtime.

Evenings at home.

Street games.

Family members in local streets.

Callers.

Saturdays - activity - coliseum.

Sunday - church - walk in fields.

Courting - 'chicken run'.

Mother - few interests outside home.

Father - drank a little.

Church - Whit Walks.

A lot of time spent in the home.

No hobbies - too much housework. (361)

Dancing - 6d hops. Carlton, Blackpool. Costs.

Day trips to Blackpool as a child.

Parents very short of money. (422)

Taken to Hippodrome as treat.

Went to cinema as a child and once courting. Importance of Saturday nights.

Work - ring spinning.

First job and wage. Hours of work.

Spinning. (512)

Tipping up - little left to self.

After marriage - little change, but went to cinema 4 times a week in late 1930s.

Tape 24B

People dressed up for cinema. (008)

Sex ratio.

Courting outside or inside.

No dancing after marriage.

Holidays - stayed with relative in Peterborough. Day trip from mill.

Gramophone - never owned one.

Wireless - Rediffusion wireless.

Pubs - first drink age 30. Pubs were 'local affairs'. Women's rooms. Food.

Newspapers.

Mrs Challinor Interviewed 30.4.79

Born 1910; Rochdale.

Occupations: ring spinner, woollen warper.

Tape 25A

Parents.
assistance from Guardians.
Home entertainments - talking at tea time. Recitations.
Chores - mainly personal.
Unemployed brotherhood. (350)
Labour Party work - 'teens onwards.
'Home made' entertainment.
Picnics.
Religious institutions - social events.
Clarion cyclists recalled.
Trades council delegate.
Money-raising events.
Childhood games.
Handicrafts.
Errands to earn pennies as a child.

Tape 25B

Girls Friendly Society.
Holidays - did not go - lack of money.
One day trip to Belle Vue before starting work.
Walked a great deal.
Syke Ponds.
Cinema - matinee - not every week.
Theatre - weekly once married.
Cinema - went most often after left school. Cost, cinemas.
Music Hall - went to Hippodrome with friends - half a dozen girls.
Dress - not dressed up on week nights.
Saturday - 'the day with the long dinner hour'. (300)
Courting - Falinge Road. (305)

Spending money, entertainment.

Savings Clubs.

Wages and hours of work.

Dances - 6d hops. 1/- dances high class. Venues.

1926-39 period of short time work. (471)

Cinema - comparison between Ceylon/Rialto. (556)

Local cinemas and regular customers. (568)

Gramophone - had one in 1930s. Records.

Radio - had one once married.

Holiday - no holidays with pay. Went away rarely after marriage.

Mr Finn Interviewed 1.5.79

Born 1895; Flint, North Wales.

Occupations: several, including ring spinner and builder's labourer.

Tape 27A

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Helped his mother bake.

Neighbours.

Mother went to cinema, father for a drink.

More of his time spent outside house than in as a child.

Ran errands.

Football, cricket played.

Pictures - cost - sometimes complimentary tickets.

Boys Brigade.

Day trips with parents.

assistance from Guardians.

Empire and Hippodrome.

Starting work - wages and hours.

'Couldn't get going at all' due to slump. (450)

Saturday - played football.

Sunday - church then pub.

Had to go to church, but once married went less frequently.

Cinema - films, cost, dress, class.

Holidays never went for a week - just day trips.

Gramophone - cost.

Radio set - crystal set.

Pubs - cost of drink. (352) Social centre.

Mr Black Interviewed 1.5.79

Born 1908; Rochdale.

Occupations: ring room scavenger. Later various jobs, including mill work.

Tape 26A

Parents.

Difficult to make ends meet after father's death.

Guardians.

Stepfather and chores. sisters also helped mother.

Evening routine in the home - reading, darning. Visitors called.

Mother went to chapel, father to pub.

childhood play.

Swimming baths when could afford it.

Sketching and board games to pass the time. (410)

Church, stigma of wearing clogs.

Played on football team.

Never enough money for holidays when young.

Once married and working went away - costs. (516)

Cinema - went with pennies collected from returned jam jars. Cost. (532)

Coliseum - bughole.

Hippodrome - variety. Free passes.

Ceylon cinema and billiard hall.

Older cinemas cheaper.

Comics. Member of Children's Library.

Starting work.

Tape 26B

Work done in ring room.

Wages and hours.

Changes of jobs.

Out of work once married. (216)

Tipping up as teenager.

Once married went out together.

Did not go to church and chapel as adult.

Cinema, went 2 or 3 times a week.

Holidays - after 1936 when married went every year to Blackpool.

Gramophone.

Wirless - got one in 1936. Had favourite programmes, but no routine for listening.

Pubs - did not go drinking very much.

Newspapers.

Spectator sport.

Mrs Bennett Interviewed 7.5.79

Born 1900; Shrewsbury.

Occupations: millworker, housemaid.

Tape 28A

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Weekend domestic chores.

Trips to Manchester once working.

As a child, time in home spent around piano or with callers, once work done.

Neighbours.

Father had a drink at the pub.

Courting. Part-time job.

Childhood play.

Church.

Holidays with mother once working.

Comics.

Starting work, wages, hours.

Short time.

Tape 28B

Stopped work before having children.

As teenager her mother strict.

Dances popular - met in town centre.

Once married went out separately.

Church and chapel - socials.

Cinema - if had money.

Dancing - Blackpool evening trips. Cost of halls locally.

Holidays - rarely went away once married.

Gramophone - at parental home and married. Records lost.

Wireless - listened during day.

Music Hall - some blue jokes. Always full Saturday.

Never went to a pub.

Newspapers.

Mr Fielding Interviewed 9.5.79

Born 1904; Rochdale.

Occupations: weaver's pin lad, weaver, greengrocer.

Tape 30A

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Chores apportioned within the family.

Sang songs at weekends.

Neighbours.

Mother had no interest outside the home.

Father drank heavily.

Childhood games.

Boy Scouts.

Whit Friday Walks.

Chapel - children's parties.

Penn St. School.
Holidays - Blackpool for week aged 14. 'Made do'.
Cinema - matinees and costs.
Starting work - wages and hours. 'Tipping up'.
First suit in early 1930s.
Night school.

Tape 30B

Did more in spare time once working.
Holiday in 1924 with sister.
Evening trip to Blackpool to dance.
Gramophone - types of records played.
Wireless - cat's whisker set in 1920s.
Theatre - 1930s - went regularly.

Mrs Gilbert Interviewed 10.5.79

Born 1902; Rochdale.

Occupation: ring spinner.

Tape 31A

Parents.
Brothers and sisters.
Two eldest girls most involved in domestic work.
Boys did errands.
All read a lot. (119)
Skipping rope in the street.
Hated starting work in the mill.
callers to house, neighbours, relatives.
Neighbourhood friendly.
Mother did not go out.
Father in a band, drank.
A lot of time spent in house in early 'teens.
Living room.
Childhood games.
Handicrafts.

Band of Hope.

Chapel - Sunday - eventually Sunday School teacher. Whit Walks.

Holidays - 16 before saw the sea.

Cinema - rarely.

Hippodrome - treat on Friday if father had cash.

Theatre - too expensive.

Comics - given a few.

Work - hours and wages.

Spending and saving: 'hot water money' - put to trip ticket. Once married always paid cash.

Saved for holidays, spent less on entertainment.

Trip to cinema on Saturday night a treat.

Tape 31B

Husband on short time - dole.

Struggle to live. (041)

Entertainment took the brunt of domestic economies.

Before marriage - parental authority.

Courting.

Husband's leisure.

Chores shared in marital home.

Chapel - not once married. (162)

Congregation - gender - class.

Cinema - types or classes of cinema, cost, popularity, respectability.

Dancing - Ambulance Drill Hall, low entry fee, clean, no trouble. All kinds of people went.

Holidays - went every year to stay at Blackpool till the early 1930s.

Gramophone - listened a lot to it in parental home.

Wireless - had set made in 1928. Listened most nights. Music.

Did not go to pub or music hall.

Husband in the Harriers.

Newspapers.

Mrs Barker Interviewed 10.5.79

Born 1900; Rochdale.

Occupation: doffer, later spinner.

Tape 32A

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Housework.

Fond of reading - library numbers.

Childhood games.

Holidays, first day trip, age 14. (079)

Cinema - mischief, Coliseum, talkies at Pavilion.
Families.

No canteens at work.

Hours of work and wages.

Little change in leisure activity once working. (180)

Tiredness after work.

After marriage - did not go out more.

Furniture given by relatives.

Parents strict about time in 'teens.

Courting.

Married home.

Did not go to chapel once married.

Snobbery.

Cinema - rarely once married, cost, popularity, seats, class, dress.

Holidays - went away for a stay - not every year.

Gramophone - could not afford one until son grew up.

Theatre - every Monday.

Pubs - used any pub. Went in at Friday dinner-time.

Members of Brickcroft W.M. Club, membership.

Band of Hope.

Newspapers.

Mr Bailey Interviewed 14.5.79

Born 1911; Rochdale.

Occupations: woollen spinner (mules), later foreman. (075)

Tape 33A

Parents.

Sister.

Errands and bringing in coal - no other chores for him.

Visitors - relatives - for meals.

Mother did not go out.

Father went out with friend.

Father out of work.

Childhood games.

Swimming baths.

Cinema - cinemas attended, cost.

Trail hunts.

Holidays - blackpool a few times.

Handicrafts.

Harriers.

Tape 33B

Harriers - 5 groups, lake runs. Stopped once married.

Kelsalls Boys Club.

Industrial Welfare Society.

Chapel - West St., Young Men's Class. Social events.

Pictures - went equally often to cinema once working.

Dancing - once older. Clubs and church dances.

Work - wages and hours of first job.

Once working little change in leisure. (369)

Parents strict about time.

Went out less once married.

Church and chapel - went less once married.

Cinema - seats, cinemas, films, popularity. (511)

Holidays - went away to a limited extent - lack of cash.

Pub - never went in.

Gramophone - did not have one.

Radio - bought one when married in 1937. Programmes.

Mrs A. Seddon Interviewed 15.5.79

Born 1898; Rochdale.

Occupation: mill worker in ring room, eventually spinner.

Tape 34A

Parents.

Brothers.

Poor neighbourhood.

Could not pay our rent.

Mother did not go out.

Father ill.

Small house.

Childhood games.

Food main item of expenditure.

Chapel for destitute.

No holidays, save at local children's home on the moors.

Went to cinema only once working hours of work.

Spending. (278)

Lunchtimes at work.

No change in habits once started work.

Dunlop mill.

Parental authority did not have to be exercised.

Marriage - went out no less, no more.

Chapel - sent children.

Cinema - took children to 'local'.

Dance halls - in 'teens.

Holidays - not 'till taken by her boss.

Gramophone - once married, records, songs.

No wireless.

Went rarely to music hall.

Newspaper.

Mrs Marshall Interviewed 16.5.79

born 1904; Bacup, Lancashire.

Occupation: chip shop assistant, slipper shop assistant, weaver, chip shop owner.

Tape 29B

Parents.

Sisters and brothers.

Chores in the home.

Boys spoilt. (106)

Time spent in the home - music.

Callers. Tea on Sunday.

Neighbourhood.

Mother rarely went out.

Father 'had a little drink'.

Living room.

More free time spent outside the house.

Childhood play - left.

Swimming.

Girl Guides.

Chapel - few social events.

Holidays every year.

Pictures whilst courting.

Was swimming attendant for brief period.

Little change to leisure patterns once working - 'tipped up'.

Husband on short time in 1930s.

Courting.

Parental control.

Went out with husband, never alone, once married.

No hobbies - no time.

Chapel - sent children to West St. occasionally. Went occasionally herself.

Cinema - went only once whilst in Rochdale.

Tape 32B

Dance halls - where attended, popularity.

Holidays - every year, went away - Morecambe.

Never had a gramophone herself nor a wireless until after 1939.

Class and neighbourhood. (159)

Pubs - fish friers meetings.

Conservative Club - went with husband.

Newspapers.

Mrs Abbott Interviewed 18.5.79

Born 1907; Rochdale.

Occupation: mule spinner during war, then winder, printroom worker.

Tape 35A

Parents.

Brother.

Chores - washday. (139)

Not much spare time.

Board games and handicrafts.

Reading.

Piano.

Visitors - neighbours to hear phonograph.

Family home as social centre.

Shops in Wardleworth.

Mother sang, father too, but he was also a member of Falinge cycling club.

Mother sewed and baked.

Christmas. (349)

Hippodrome - taken as a treat; tripe shop after, cost.

Childhood play.

Tennis in 'teens. (617) cycling.

Rechabites.

Local Chapel Dramatic Society.

Tape 35B

Once married went to a new chapel.

Leading families at the chapel she attended before marriage.

Dances at chapel.

Only one holiday before 18 - stayed with aunts.

Cinema difficult to reach - lived well away from town.

Went with large group of friends in 'teens.

Comics.

Ormerods printers - had to leave.

Arranged works trips.

Wages and hours, age 18.

Work done.

Lunchtimes.

Marriage - stayed in to save cash.

Before marriage parents strict about her social life.

Courtship.

Went out together once married, but he went alone for a drink once a week.

Chapel - class.

No dancing save private functions.

Holidays - second one in 1941.

Gramophone - got one with cigarette coupons. Records. (575) Cost. Artists.

Radio - cat's whisker set in parental home, eventually Rediffusion set - 1939.

Pubs - husband drank, she never went in.

Newspapers.

Mr T. Rhodes Interviewed 21.5.79

Born 1903; Rochdale.

Occupation: millwork, then Corporation Parks Department.

Tape 36A

Parents.

Very poor if father laid off at work.

Soup kitchens.

Paper seller as a child.

Sisters and brothers.

Errands.

Played violin and drum after tea.

Sometimes to cinema.

Mother stayed in.

Problems with father and the neighbours who called in.

Help offered by neighbours.

Poor neighbourhood.

Ceylon Billiard Hall.

What could be had for 1/-.

Wages, hardship. (502)

Mother took him to cinema.

Whit Processions.

Father went out for a drink.

Church - children sent.

Unemployment.

Most free time spent outside house.

Childhood play.

Tape 36B

First sight of sea when 18 - Boys Brigade trip - camped.

Did not go on holiday until married.

Grammar school boys - class differences.

Cinema - with mother.

Billiards as got older.

Comics.

Starting work, wages, hours.

Trips from Parks Department.

Football matches arranged by firm that ran cotton mill.

Short time 1920s.

Courtship came later than with his friends.

Once married went out together - but went out infrequently.

Church - both went once married.

Cinema - he did not go.

Dancing - he disapproved.

Gramophone - wind-up, with 3 records.

No wireless until World War Two.

Pubs - first drink age 24, many locals, taprooms. Respectable pubs.

Cronkeyshaw Working Men's Club after work.

Newspapers.

Spectator sport.

Mr A. Tatham Interviewed 22.5.79

Born 1899; Rochdale.

Occupations: textile worker, mules, later a carder.

Tape 37A

Parents.
Rarely helped with chores. (041)
Read a lot.
Callers, relatives.
Mother rarely went out.
Father died when subject was three.
Childhood games.
Had bicycle bought him.
Whit Friday Fields.
Holidays - as a child.
Cinema - Coliseum - frequent visits - films.
Music hall - Old Circus; Hippodrome.
Comics.
Starting work, hours.
Kelsal and Kemp Boys' Club.
Work age 18; hours, wages.
Canteen.
Parental control.
Once married 'quite well off'.
Rarely went out to pictures, however.
Chapel - did not go.
Rarely went to cinema.
Holidays - stayed with relatives.
Did not dance.
Gramophone - as a child.
Wireless - 1932.
Pubs - mother disapproved.
Taboo concerning women and pubs.
Spectator sport.
Papers and magazines.

Mr Tetlow Interviewed 28.5.79

Born 1903; Rochdale.

Occupation: doffer, then steam engineer.

Tape 38A

Parents.

Sisters.

Chores shared.

No music until the radio came.

Most of time spent out on the street.

Neighbours. (143)

Social class. (193)

Parents rarely went out - lack of cash - had a drink occasionally.

Dress.

Level of father's earnings fluctuated.

Routines of a working day. (316)

Home - living room.

Childhood play.

Athletic grounds - played there.

Hobbies - collected cigarette cards.

Football, cricket - in neighbourhood.

Pioneers' Reading Room.

Scouts.

Chapel - Whit Fridays. Few trips.

Tape 38B

Cinema - went with mother; cinemas attended; films; friends.

Theatre - went in his twenties - with friend - sat aloft.

Hippodrome - went occasionally, aged 12 or 13.

Comics - friends shared them.

Work - age 18; hours, wage; tipping up; lunchtime.

Depression - means test. (260) Out of work.

Before left home parents not too strict.

Married home in parents' neighbourhood.

Habits changed little after marriage.
Took photography as a hobby after marriage.
chapel - not once married.
Cinema - only went if picture good.
Dance - church dance occasionally.
Holidays - only once house furnished.
Gramophone - parents.
Radio - valve set; patterns of listening.
Pubs - did not drink.
Spectator sport.
Newspapers.

Mrs Y. Clarke Interviewed 25.5.79

Born 1928; Rochdale.

Occupations: winder, reeler, beamer.

Tape 39A

Parents.
Brother and sister.
Chores.
Dancing at the Carlton. (066)
Parents - stopped in mostly.
Went to park when fine.
Neighbours - saw little of them.
Callers - relatives.
Childhood play.
Girl Guides. (216)
Band of Hope.
Field day at Chapel.
Holidays with aunt and uncle.
Went to Theatre Royal with cousin; more costly; double cinema.
Classes of cinema. (258)
Mischief in the cinema.
Parental control.
Carlton.

Comics.

Walking.

Marriage.

Cinema - popular nights and films.

Carlton - bands.

Gramophone - records, cost, when played.

Radio - first heard age 11 or 12; no routine, always on.

Pubs - first visit age 16 on V.E. night.

Sport - netball team at factory.

Newspapers.

Mrs V. Ferguson Interviewed 25.5.79

Born 1926; Rochdale.

Occupations: leatherworker, tobacco worker, shop assistant, weaver.

Tape 40A

Parents.

Sisters.

Did few chores in the home.

Father capable domestically.

Visited aunts on Sunday.

Good helpful neighbours.

Mothers involved in neighbouring.

All working people.

Mother had no interests outside home.

Mother occasionally went to the theatre.

Father member of working men's club.

Chapel - few social events. Whit Friday.

Unemployment.

Enjoyed home life.

Living room.

Childhood play.

Hobbies.

Holidays - not every year.

Theatre - went after left school.

Never went to cinema whilst at school due to lack of cash.

No comics.
Girls' Crystal Magazine.
Starting work - 'tipping up'.
Wage, hours, spending.
Parental control.
Courting.
Dancing.
Neighbours once married.
Gramophone.
Wireless.

Tape 40B

Library.
Music hall - went with parents as a child.
Dress.
Pubs.
Spectator sport.
Newspapers.

Mrs Watts Interviewed 29.5.79

Born 1913; Rochdale.

Occupations: clerk, teacher.

Tape 41A

Parents.
Helped with domestic chores rarely - had a maid.
Read, took dancing lessons, learnt piano.
Musical evenings at home with piano and gramophone.
Relatives called.
Bridge parties.
Chapel - she never attended Sunday School.
Childhood play. (129)
Tennis.
Holidays taken at Wakes Week - Fleetwood.
Trips to Manchester.
Celebrity Concerts at Champness Hall.

Theatre - taken by father.

Cinema - went in 'teens with sister.

Theatre audience.

Once at university went out more often.

Tiger Tim, Rainbow, Children's Newspaper, as a child.

Once working not a lot of money.

Spending.

Leisure - still had same friends once started work.

Marriage - husband taught in evenings. Reduced spare time together.

Chapel - went once working; congregation - leading families.

Cinema - less once working.

Dances - private, Ritz and Carlton.

Sex ratio at dances.

Tape 41B

Holidays - London for a few days every year after university.

Gramophone - wind up, records.

Wireless - cat's whisker set, later Rediffusion - low class).

Pubs - not allowed to go in.

Rambling - church.

Family important socially.

Oxford Group.

Cricket - spectator.

Newspapers.

Mr W. Hall Interviewed 30.5.79

Born 1913; Rochdale.

Occupation: worker in building trade.

Tape 42A

Parents.

Sisters.

Never helped family - he was always out.

Father listened to gramophone. Mother invalid.

Few visitors.

Grandfather's house.

Did not bother with neighbours.

Father went out on a Saturday.

Living room.

Childhood play.

Local football and rugby teams.

Boys' Life Brigade.

Chapel - leading family.

Whit Friday. (296)

Prosperous families at chapel.

No holidays before starting work.

Evening work at Hippodrome.

Plays at Palace.

Films at Coliseum.

Saturday matinee as a child - films.

Comics.

Work - various jobs 'till started building work, age 17.

Married some years before he drank.

Little changed once he started work.

Lunchtime at work.

Friends congregated.

More money in his pocket.

Had a drink but never 'saw them short at home'. (570)

Rained off at work.

Daughter's wage.

Weekday pastimes, age 15 or 16.

Weekends.

Tape 42B

Saturday evening - 'clicking'.

Courting in a tent.

Parents liberal.

Neighbours once married.

Going out.

Chapel - less involved.

Congregations.

Cinema - films, cinemas, audiences.
Dances - venues, rough and respectable; sex ratio.
Holidays - stayed with relatives once married.
Pubs attended.
Gramophone - once married.
Radio - Rediffusion set 1930s.
Member of working men's club.
Sport - football and cricket (spectator).
Newspapers.

Miss Shaw Interviewed 30.5.79

Born 1889; Chadderton, near Oldham.

Occupations: winder, beamer.

Tape 43A

Parents.
Brothers and sisters.
Chores in the home.
Male and female chores.
Free time in the evening.
Reading.
Neighbours called in.
Mother did not go out much.
Father nearly always in the garden.
Both went to Liberal Club dances occasionally.
Living room.
Childhood play.
Handicrafts.
Girl Guides.
Church every Sunday.
Holiday - only when young with parents.
Champness Hall.
Theatre.
Pictures - 12 or 13 when first went.
No comics.
First job.

Wage age 18 - hours.

Setting up milliners shop 1918.

Rambling at weekends.

In her 'teens parents were strict.

Chapel - concert parties.

Cinema - if a good film. Monday evenings usually. Cost.

St. John's ambulance Hall - dancing.

Holidays - went with sister.

Gramophone - records played.

Wireless.

Newspapers.

Mr G. Tipper Interviewed 31.5.79

Born 1901; Rochdale.

Occupation: iron planer (engineering), later instructor.

Tape 44A

Parents.

Sister.

He did no homework.

Time spent in the home - and little contact with commercial institutions.

Reading, chatting by the fire.

Neighbours.

Mother had few interests outside the home.

Grandmother went to Wesleyan Chapel.

A great deal of time spent outside the house rather than 'hanging about the house'.

Childhood play.

Swimming club.

Chapel - Gospel Hall.

Young Men's Class till 30 years old.

Death of his wife, 1937.

He had little time after housework.

First holiday age 14 when working. (413)

Concerts.

Theatre.

Cinema - Coliseum - cost.

Tram.

No visits to cinema before 12 years.

Dancing - spent a lot of time during the 1920s and 1930s at dances.

First dances at Sunday School.

Comics.

Starting work - hours and wages.

Works trips.

Wage and spending age 18.

Lunchtimes.

Tape 44B

Grandmother.

Week nights - activity age 15-20.

Keep Fit.

Baths, dancing, walking.

Weekends, age 15-20.

Neighbours when first married.

Changes to leisure once married.

No hobbies.

Church - wife and he went occasionally.

Cinema - cinemas, cost, frequency of visits, dress.

Dancing - venues, cost, popularity.

Holidays - once went to Blackpool for a week in his twenties. From 24 went to Isle of Man - Cunningham's Camp, later lodgings.

Day trips.

Gramophone.

Wireless, 1920s, later speaker set.

Music hall.

Theatre - Denville Stock Co.

Spectator sport.

Newspapers.

Mr Warburton Interviewed 31.5.79

Born 1914; Rochdale.

Occupation: skilled belt maker/maintainer.

Tape 45A

Parents.

Chores.

Played with Meccano set.

Few visitors.

Read a lot.

Piano, violin.

Childhood games - gender divisions.

Boy/man division, age 14. (268)

Hobbies - took up father's interests.

Cubs and Boy Scouts.

Running.

Sunday School - field day.

Concerts.

Theatre.

Cinema - public hall, Bailey St. - Union St. Chapel.

Hippodrome.

Comics.

Wages and hours worked age 15 and 18.

Activity changed once started work.

Clothes. (522)

Cinema and fashion.

Marriage.

Evening activities.

Town gangs and meeting places.

Activities without much cash to spend. (600)

Tape 45B

Groups of friends met in herbalist's.

Parents forbade pubs - went in nonetheless.

Pubs - taproom - pubs used.

Cinema - popularity, cost, age of audience, gender.

Dances - venues.
Holidays - from age 21 were a regular occurrence. Cost.
Gramophone - listened rarely.
Wireless.
Theatre - went to Manchester.
Spectator sport - cricket.
Newspapers.

Mrs C. Openshaw Interviewed 11.6.79

Born 1905; Rochdale.

Occupation: packer (office goods).

Tape 46A

Parents.
Brothers and sister.
Mother worked hard.
Had a dinner ticket - poor.
Chores.
She looked after her siblings.
Games, cards.
Had visitors including neighbours.
Mother's main interest sewing.
Went to relatives for a meal on Sunday.
Fear of debt.
Living room.
Reading.

Tape 46B

Campfire Organisation for Girls.
Had to go to chapel.
Chapel elites.
Holidays - stayed with relatives.
Concerts.
Theatre - saved for weeks.
Cinema - rarely.
Comics.

Starting work.
Wages and hours, age 18.
Tipping up and saving.
Times to be back home in the evening in teens.
Friends came to home once married.
Whist drives once married.
World War One - never short of food.
Still went to chapel once married.
Dancing - learnt at Turners.
Holidays once married.
Gramophone.
Wireless - programmes.
Theatre - went with husband, not too expensive.
Pubs - father alcoholic, turned her against drink.
Newspapers.

Mrs Cheetham Interviewed 11.6.79

Born 1893; Accrington.

Occupation: office worker.

Tape 47A

Parents.
Brother and sister.
Chores.
Company in home frequently.
Friends and relatives called.
Neighbours.
Mother no interests outside home.
Most spare time spent in home.
Went out twice a week and at weekend when courting.
Dancing.
Father a dance teacher.
Living room.
Childhood games.
Gymnastics.
Chapel - Sunday School.
Holidays - higher class if went away.

Concerts.

Hippodrome - father took children.

Cinema - seldom went.

Tape 47B

Work - wage and hours, age 18.

Husband's work.

Parties at work.

Week nights in teens.

Courting - boyfriends, parents.

Neighbours once married.

Dances.

House once married.

Chapel.

Cinema.

Dancing.

Holidays.

Gramophone.

Wireless.

Pubs.

Mr Walker Interviewed 12.6.79

Born 1894; Bolton.

Occupations: spinner, munitions work, navy, foundry worker; train and bus driver.

Tape 48A

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Chores - he did little.

Walked a lot, little reading.

Listened to gramophone, few visitors.

Decent neighbours. (143)

Mother had no interests outside the home.

Living room.

Mischief and childhood play.

Church Lads Brigade.
Choir trip - only holiday save Brigade trips.
Theatre - went in teens.
Cinema - went seldom.
Work - hours, wages, age 18.
Work did not change spare time activities.
Week nights before marriage.
Weekends.
Courtship.
Neighbours once married.
Housework.
Stopped going to church.
Dancing - 3 times a week.
Venues, cost, clientele.
Holidays - none.
Gramophone.
Wireless.
Music hall.
Theatre.
Pubs.
Chip shop.
Pubs.
Working men's club - Sudden.
Sport - football - played.
Newspapers.

Mr Allwork Interviewed 12.6.79

Born 1910

Occupation: bricklayer.

Tape 49A

Parents.
Kept shop.
Had chores to do.
Little time for 'playing out'. (036)
Free time at weekends.

Father took him running.
Hymns on Sunday evening - to piano accompaniment.
Visited relatives.
Shop.
Neighbours and neighbourhood.
Mother's interests limited to home.
Childhood play.
Scouts - trips - uniform. (330)
Chapel anniversaries.
Holidays - Belgium.
Concerts.
Theatre.
Pictures.
Football on local common.
Silent pictures.
Music hall - with mother.
Comics.
Work - apprenticed. Wages and hours, age 18.
Short time or being rained off.
Day excursions once married.
Week nights before marriage.

Tape 49B

Starting work and a change of emphasis.
Parental control.
Courtship.
Neighbours once married.
After marriage - went out a little more.
Went to Hippodrome and Coliseum.
Chapel - social events.
Cinema - a lot during courtship; dress, cost.
Gramophone.
Wireless - battery - novelty - programmes, cost.
Music hall.
Pubs.
Sport.
Newspapers.

Mr Robb Interviewed 13.6.79

Born 1902; Ulverston.

Occupations: farm labourer, timber feller, lorry driver.

Tape 50A

Parents.
Brothers and sisters.
Chores.
Play outside the home and inside it.
Had to be doing something. (270)
Books read rarely.
Father's rocking chair.
Extra earnings.
Callers.
Mother and father's interests outside the home.
Living room.
Outside the home - childhood play.
Boy Scouts.
Church - some social events - but lack of money. (502)
Holidays by seashore.
Day trip to Carnforth.
Concerts.
Matinees at picture houses.
Earning money to pay for ticket.
Comics.
In Rochdale more entertainments.
Drove lorry - hours of work.

Tape 50B

Worked until 7pm driving lorry.
Journeys.
Marriage - wage accounted for. (141)
Cinema a reasonable outlay.
Starting work in his teens.
Garden.
Neighbours, Rochdale, Colne - dances.
Church - attendance.
Cinema - attendance.

Holidays - Southport - took children yearly.

Day trips.

Gramophone.

Radio - bought one in 1930.

Theatre - attendance.

Pubs.

Spectator sport.

Newspapers.

Mr Barrington Interviewed 14.6.79

Born 1908; Rochdale.

Occupations: 12 months as apprentice fitter and turner, then Corporation Electricity Department.

Tape 51A

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Chores.

Entertainments in the home.

He read a lot.

Visitors - friends and relatives.

Neighbourhood.

Parents' interests outside the home.

Church. (200)

Childhood play.

Hobbies.

Social events at church.

Holidays - went away with parents until 16 or 17.

Concerts.

Theatre - cost.

Cinema - attendance, cereals.

Music hall - went as family.

Comics taken.

Starting work.

Hours and wage, age 18.

Spending.

Work changed spare time habits - less spare time.
Evenings in his late teens.
Studying for vocational exams.

Tape 51B

Parents set standards of behaviour.
Courtship, tennis, dances.
Neighbours.
Changes in leisure habits once married.
Hobbies.
Housework.
Church - attendance, age groups of congregation. Young Men's Class. (364)
Cinema - attendance - Saturday - part of the weekend ritual - talkies - dress - cost - class.
Dancing - private.
Holidays - one week per year only - resort.
Gramophone - after married.
Wireless - made his own, later got a speaker set.
Pubs - did not go.
Spectator sport - did not go.
Newspapers.

Mr Fawcett Interviewed 14.6.79

Born 1896; Rochdale.

Occupations: telegraph boy, Coop retail store manager.

Tape 52A

Parents.
Brother.
Chores.
Promoter of dances after the army.
Spare time.
Childhood play and mischief. (380)
Starting work - hours.
Callers to the parental home.
Parents' interests outside the home.

Childhood play.

Dancing.

Sunday School - Young Men's Class.

Holidays taken as a child.

Tape 52B

Cunningham's Camp - cost.

Concerts - Old Circus.

Cinema - those attended.

Comics.

Coop Managers' Association.

Wages and hours before World War One.

Trips to Manchester with the lads.

Played football and golf.

Combined two jobs, i.e. one full time, one part time.

Cinema - had shares in one.

Dance halls - promoted dances - went to Carlton.

Gramophone - once married.

Wireless - times for listening.

Mrs M. Todd Interviewed 15.6.79

Born 1900; Rochdale.

Occupations: cotton mill operative, then munitions worker until married.

Tape 53A

Parents.

Sisters and brothers.

Chores.

Refused to make brother's tea. (300)

No television.

Lots of people called - 'a house full'.

Sang songs in the home.

Father ill.

All family read. (408)

Neighbourhood and neighbours. (458)

Mother's and father's interests outside the home.

Church.

Seasons.

Living room.

Childhood play and hobbies.

Tape 53B

Went to a class - 'make do and mend'.- to make clothing out of cast-offs.

Sunday School events.

First holiday, age 18 - Blackpool.

Dancing - mid teens.

Theatre and concerts - attendances.

Starting work in the munitions factory.

Wages and hours, age 18.

Spending. (248)

Starting work as a teenager - new status. (292)

Parental control.

Courtship.

Week nights and weekends.

Neighbours once married.

Leisure once married.

Church occasionally.

Took children to cinema.

Dancing - venues.

Stayed with a relative and took day trips.

Gramophone - had one as a child and once married.

Wireless - crystal set first, later valve set - programmes and times for listening.

Mrs N. Mason Interviewed 18.6.79

Born 1898; Rochdale.

Occupation: doffer, later ring spinner.

Tape 54B

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Chores. (208)

Spare time work.

She did most of the work in the home.

Newspapers.

Visitors.

Neighbourhood.

Parents' interests outside the home.

Spent most of her spare time in the home as a child.

Living room.

Childhood pastimes - walking, play.

Chapel - social functions.

Holidays - first trip (1 day) once working - works trip.

Terrified of bosses at work.

People do not value money today.

Lunch at work - no canteen.

Decorating.

Sunday School concerts.

Theatre.

Cinema - popularity and cost, films; content and stars (536); father took her to children's matinees; popularity.

Wireless - crystal set.

Comics.

Errands and childminding. (581)

Cheap 'wrap-ups' of meat.

Maypole in neighbourhood.

Friday Field.

Tape 55B

Wages and hours, age 18.

'Tipping up' her wage.

Starting work and spare time habits.

Lunchtimes.

Weekday evenings and weekends.

Once 'married' - housework increased.

Parental control before 'married'.

Neighbours once 'married'.

'Husband's' working day.

World War One - shortage of food.

Church - went rarely, sent children.

Cinema - week-nights - local cinema - popularity - seats - dress and class. (390)

Dancing - rarely.

Holidays - one holiday in 1921, otherwise day trips.

Gramophone - bought secondhand - records - cost.

Wireless - crystal set, kit.

Theatre - attendances, cheap ticket.

Music hall - cheap entry on Thursdays.

Pubs - local pubs - clientele - lady drinkers - full at weekends - breweries - landlady and landlord.

Mrs Walsh Interviewed 18.6.79

Born 1901; Ramsbottom.

Occupations: embroiderer, barmaid in parents' pub.

Tape 55A

Parents.

Small farming families.

Chores on the farm.

Walk over to grandmother's.

Once moved to the pub - able to go to pictures.

Trips back to Ramsbotton to see relatives.

Parental interests outside the home.

Life on the farm.

Sunday School.

Holidays.

Concerts.

Cinema - balcony seats.

Embroidery - by machinery.

Wages.

Nightschool.

Spending money.

Work did not change spare time habits.

Hours of work.

Lunchbreak.

Free time in week once in Rochdale.

Parental control.

Courting.

Neighbours.

Spare time habits did not change a great deal once married, but could go out less since mother ill.

Church - classes - no outings.

Cinema - Tuesday evening - popularity, respectability.

Dancing - Sunday School dances.

Holidays - once married.

Wireless - once married.

Theatre - Monday nights.

Pub - tap room.

Coop women's Guild.

Newspapers.

Mr F. Entwistle Interviewed 19.6.79

Born 1896; Rochdale.

Occupations: dyehouse worker, army, millworker.

Tape 56A

Parents.

Brother and sisters.

Chores.

Play in the street for boys.

No music, little reading in the home.

Visits from aunts and uncles.

Neighbours.

'Rough area, very poor'. (175)

Parental interest outside the home.

Living room.

Mischief.

Football on the street.

Could not afford the boy Scouts uniform.

Holiday - Labour Party ran a trip for poor children.

Once working went to Blackpool for a week.

Concerts.

Theatre - once a week once working.

Cinema - venues, cost, evenings he went.

Theatre - cost.

Hippodrome - cost.

Comics.

Wages and hours just before World War One.

Spending.

Starting work - no change in habits.

Joining the army.

Work in his early twenties.

Evenings spent roaming about.

Football - played in the park.

Weekends - went for walks with friends.

Sunday - stayed in all day - did nothing - no smart clothes.

Mother set few rules.

Courtship.

Once married - neighbours, area poor. (462)

Problem of getting a home together.

Went out rarely once children came.

Hobbies - decorating.

Chores - shared - he did washing.

First suite secondhand.

Church - did not go once working.

Cinema - went if had money - venues, regularity, cost, dress, class.

Holidays - after World War One went to Morecambe for day trips.

Never had wireless or gramophone.

Music hall and theatre.

Tape 56B

Pantomimes at Hippodrome.

Pubs - locally. (056) - no favourites - trips - facilities for games - notorious pubs (rough).

Rugby - spectator.

Newspapers.

Mrs Rigg Interviewed 19.6.79

Born 1904; Rochdale.

Occupation: receptionist in a photographer's shop.

Tape 57A

Parents.

Sister.

Chores.

Free time in the house.

Concert parties for wounded troops in local hospitals.

Parental interests outside the home.

Church.

Short time working - none in family.

Living room.

Childhood play.

Church.

Holidays - went to Scotland with parents yearly. Holidays also at Easter or Whit.

Concerts.

Theatre - musical comedies.

Tape 57B

Cinema - when still at school - regularity, friends - films, talkies - plenty to do. (036)

Comics.

Wages and hours, age 18.

Starting work meant had less spare time.

Evenings in her late teens.

Weekends.

Once married - changes.

Husband in police force.

Neighbours once married.

Chores, furnishings in married home.

World War One - everything stopped for war work.

Went rarely to chapel once working.

Cinema - attendance - local cinema - rowdy children - seats and class. (450)

Dancing - private dances.

Holidays - always holidays with pay. Usually had a week at Southport.

Gramophone - cost, records.

Pub and music hall - went rarely.

Spectator sport - went to a few football and cricket matches with her husband.

Newspapers.

Wireless - cat's whisker set - programmes - times for listening. (620)

Mr Sewell Interviewed 20.6.79

Born 1898; Rochdale.

Occupations: cotton mill operative, lorry driver.

Tape 58A

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Chores.

Free time - outside playing or in playing ludo.

Comics.

Cylinder record player.

Visitors - relatives, friends.

Neighbours - close knit.

Once started work could stay up longer.

Parental interests outside the home.

Living room.

Childhood play.

Cricket, peggy, football.

Boys Brigade.

Holidays - not until working.

Theatre - Hippodrome and also variety at Circus.

Starting work - wage and hours, age 21.

Courting. (312)

Week nights and weekends once working.

Once married went out less.

Decorating and chores.

Furniture - improvisation.

World War One - work hard to get after the war.
Church - less frequently once married.

Tape 58B

Got dressed up on Saturday.
Dancing - went but could not dance - sex ratio.
Holidays - hired car every year, 1923 onwards - cost.
Gramophone - made cabinet gramophone in 1936.
Wireless - crystal set, 1926/7 - listened to dance music.
Music hall - Hippodrome.
Theatre.
Pubs - now and then.
Working Men's Club - Wellfield - concerts, fees.
Billiards.
Newspapers.

Mr F. Knight Interviewed 20.6.79

Born 1912 ; Heywood, near Rochdale.

Occupation: mill labourer.

Tape 59A

Parents.
Sisters and brothers.
Chores.
Visitors.
Neighbours - no T.V. then.
Crystal radio set.
Parental interest outside the home.
Once started work, went to the pictures rather than out to play.
Manhood. (513)
Spending and 'tipping up'.
Childhood play.
Hobbies.
Played football - local team.
Boys Brigade.

Tape 59B

Took contributions to the Brigade.

Made to go to church by parents.

Whit. Friday.

Holidays - not before starting work.

Concerts - on holiday.

Theatre - after started work.

Cinema - before left school - cost.

Theatre - Theatre Royal once working - not too expensive - cheap seats available.

Coliseum Cinema - rough - comparison with the Rialto.

Billiard halls.

Starting work - hours and wage.

Spending.

Wages when first married (year 1939).

Dunlop Social Club.

Turner's dance classes and rooms.

Dancing - travelled to Bolton - Carlton - higher class. (478)

Evenings in his late teens.

Sunday.

Carlton - meeting place for young.

Church - Young Men's Class.

Cinema - occasionally - preferred a drink and a dance.

Holidays - Cunningham's Camp - cost.

Gramophone and wireless.

Mr T. Law Interviewed 20.6.79

Born 1928; Rochdale.

Occupation: apprentice engineer.

Tape 60A

Parents.

Brothers and sisters.

Chores and errands.

Pastimes in the home.

No music save wireless.

Comics and adventure stories.

Visitors.

Billiard table.

Relatives called.

Neighbourhood and neighbours.

Police sergeant called regularly.

Parental interests outside the home.

All had to go to church.

Short time.

No holidays - first aged 20, though choir trips.

Childhood play.

Cinema - depending on finances.

Church Lads Brigade.

Whit Walks.

Concerts.

Music Hall.

Work - wage, tipping up.

Spending.

Spare time habits changed from starting work (year 1942).

Church.

Dancing.

Gramophone.

Wireless.

Newspapers.

Second Series of Interviews

Mrs Gilbert Interviewed 4.5.81

See also tape 31A and 31B

Tape 101A

Childhood.

Spending money.

Playing on the street.

Mothers sat on the doorstep and talked.

Chapel.

Sunday.

Teens.

Invalid mother - more work to do.

Locked out if went to dances.

Out 3 or 4 nights a week, not more because of demands of work.

Friendship. (269)

Courtship.

Important to go out - meet the people at work - people in the same boat as you - no money.

Dress. (333)

Being tired - limited social life. (394)

Going out made her feel better - a change from routine. (400)

Post teens.

Sunday night - visited mother.

Wednesday - Rialto Cinema.

Chapel - sent children because all the other parents did.

Lack of cash once married.

Radio - appreciated - low cost entertainment.

Mr R. King Interviewed 5.5.81

See also tape 18A

Tape 101B

Childhood.

Discussion of how we interpret the past.

No allowance of money.

First wage as pupil teacher.

Boy Scouts.

Boys Brigade.

Rough boys.

Easter.

Sent to Sunday School - natural. (295)

Mischief.

Teens.

Pupil teaching.

Out when homework done. (415)

Less worry about having or not having money - no one was well off.

More social life once teaching in his twenties.

Post teens.

Railway trips.

Liked being at home.

Fish and chip supper as a treat, then off to the cinema.

Cinema weekly. (503)

Bridge parties.

Went to cinema to see a picture.

Life in the 1930s got easier.

'You did what other people did'. (528)

Had more spare time than his parents, but no more enjoyment.

Taken for granted that children should go to church.

Mr T. Law Interviewed 7.5.81

See also tapes 60A and 60B

Tape 102A

Childhood.

No spending allowance - 'odd copper'.

From age 11 or 12 took paper delivery job. (014)

Spending.

Not sent out to play - went freely.

Friends.

Sunday School and chapel.

Family sent dressed up - 'the done thing'. (104)

Sunday School social centre.

Cinemas - Sunday cinema after 1945 affected church attendances.

Friends brought into parental home.

Neighbourhood - mischief.

Football played on local common.

Little money for anything else.

Teens.

Night school.

Dances on Saturday or later.

Pictures. (240)

Friends.

Out without spending cash.

Meeting girls.

Friends at his house.

Freedom once he got out of the factory following a day's work. (421)

Cinema and dance hall a social event - felt like a king if dressed up and had money.

Work and home life kept separate. (540)

Mrs A. James Interviewed 8.5.81

See also tapes 22A and 22B

Tape 102B

Childhood.

Spending allowance.

Not sent out to play.

Playmate.

Chapel - family links - taken for granted. (066)

Teens.

Hotel worker so went out on an irregular basis.

Played piano for choral society.

Had a bicycle.

Friends.

Savings.

1926 General Strike.

Clothes. (300)

Went out to get away from hotel.

Post teens.

Would have gone out more for pleasure.

Religious education good whilst children small. (452)

Effects of TV now. (503)

Mr Bailey Interviewed 11.5.81

See also tapes 33A and 33B

Tape 103A

Childhood.
Spending money - 'oddie'.
Spending - items.
Not sent out to play. (129)
Neighbourhood children.
Play - improvisation. (155)
Sunday School - natural. (167)
Football on the street.
Teens.
First job.
Nightschool. (266)
Fishing, swimming, training.
Courting.
Friends at work.
Street games even into mid-teens. (336)
Nothing to stop in for.
Weekly activities listed. (374)
Cinemas. (406)
Sunday.
Going out a change from work - freedom. (453)
Post teens.
Housework - routine. (480)
Had your own home.
Trips with children to grandparents.
Cinema audiences.
More spare time than parents. (573)

Mrs Elliot Interviewed 12.5.81

See also tape 20A and 20B

Tape 103B

Childhood.
Ran errands for money.

Games in home.

Danced in the street.

Sunday - walks.

'We thought we were everybody if we'd paid 2d for the pictures'. (080)

Father - poor wages.

Children to be seen, not heard.

Not sent out to play.

Children in neighbourhood.

'Made our own amusements'. (199)

Dances once older - 'must make the best of life'. (215)

Mischief.

Ball games in the street - territory.

Teens.

Went dancing Saturdays.

Pictures during the week.

Walking. (285)

Sundays - chapel, front room, at home.

Saturday evening if not dancing.

Week nights - occasionally went out.

Parents and courting.

Would not dare go into a pub. (351)

Money deciding factor for going out.

Saving and making do. (373)

Went out once working to get away from babysitting.

The Coliseum Cinema - serials.

A treat to go out - limited cash. (435)

Hard work in the mill.

Going out as a way of passing the time. (466)

Building a married home - economising. (476)

Going out as a change. (486)

Little chance for more leisure, housework.

No greater opportunities for leisure than had parents. (519)

Mrs Abbott Interviewed 7.5.81

See also tapes 35A and 35B

Tape 104A

Childhood.
No spending money offered regularly - had to ask.
Neighbourhood.
Sundays different. (098)
Play in the street.
Teens.
Little to do except stay in.
Chapel tennis club 5/- per year.
Rode bike. (200)
Work - friends - went to pictures.
Sewing. (226)
Treat to go out each week - a change. (271)
Enjoyed work.
Married life.
Went out occasionally.
Listened to radio.
Cinemas - rarely attended due to lack of cash. (490)

Mr Barrington Interviewed 7.5.81

See also tapes 51A and 51B

Tape 104B

Childhood.
Spending money - allowance given.
How spent. (029)
Not sent out to play.
Sunday School attendance - natural.
Teens.
Nightschool.
Pleasure outings at weekends. (161)
Limits of time and money.
Walks - cheap form of leisure.
Friends.

Out to enjoy himself, but liked staying in also.

More work then leisure in winter. (267)

All bed and work.

Post teens.

Once married - garden.

More content to stay in.

Equal access to leisure for his and his parents' generation. (314)

Mrs Scott Interviewed 5.5.81

See also tapes 24A and 24B

Tape 105A

Childhood.

No regular allowance.

Not sent out to play.

Neighbours.

churchgoer because of faith.

Mischief.

Played on open ground.

Teens.

Went out once a week - limited by lack of cash. (086)

Saturday - automatic. (111)

Friends from neighbourhood.

No TV then.

Dance somewhere every Saturday.

Need for a break.

Post teens and marriage.

Making a home a struggle.

Needed to have a break from work, for a week's holiday.

Marriage - saving and planning.

More leisure for her generation than for her parents.

Poor as a child and vowed she would have a nice home. (304)

Mrs Marshall Interviewed 6.5.81

See also tapes 29B and 32B

Tape 105B

Childhood.

No allowance whilst at school.

Played in attic.

Invited children in.

Went to chapel because had to and parents took it for granted. (074)

Teens.

Turns to go out in teens.

Dancing.

Friends.

Went out when wanted - if not working in the shop.

Little change to leisure when went to the factory to work.

Post teens.

Home and husband to be with.

Less desire to go out. (237)

Felt chapel put her children 'in the right way'. (252)

Similar access to leisure for her and her parents' generation.

Mr Tate Interviewed 6.5.81

See also tapes 3A and 3B

Tape 106A

Childhood.

Play.

Allowances (regularly).

What was bought. (122)

Close family - played together.

Sunday.

Teens.

Starting work - less time, more tired. (355)

Parading.

Walking, train ride.

Post teens and marriage.
Mature scout.
Once married went out at weekends - walked a lot.
Accepted thing to send children to chapel. Community.
Socialised with chapel people. (528)

Mr J. Tattersall Interviewed 6.5.81

See also tapes 4A and 4B

Tape 106B

Had 1d or 2d every week.
Parents better off.
How spent. (072)
Football with nailbag.
Saving for holidays.
Local chapel.
Went out to play - taken for granted.
Neighbours. (250)
Encouraged to go to chapel - social centre. (290)
Played on nearby land.
Teens.
Fewer social events 1914-18.
Friends.
Would have gone further afield if had more cash.
Went out with friends from school and work.
Yearned for a change. (509)
Work not intolerable but numbing. (524)
Rugby League Club.
Post teens.
More enjoyable holidays.
The 'done thing' to go out.
Frowned on if not gone to chapel. (600)
More opportunities for leisure than his parents. (626)

Mrs Cheetham Interviewed 12.5.81

See also tapes 47A and 47B

Tape 107A

Childhood.
Paid for chores.
How spent.
Played in the area of the house.
Friends.
Sunday School - chose to go.
Mischief.
Teens.
To be in by 9pm.
Courting.
Routine after work.
Dances at work.
Wanted to get out of the workplace.
Stayed at home a lot.
Long hours of work - tired often. (419)
Post teens.
Did not go out a lot.
Had a piano.
Children went to chapel - were not forced.
She had less money and worked harder than her parents.

Mr Tetlow Interviewed 12.5.81

See also tapes 38A and 38B

Tape 107B

Childhood.
No allowance.
If daylight and fine played outside.
Sent to chapel because others were. (040)
Dress and class.
Street games and mischief. (080)
Common as playground.
Teens.

Always in the street - lack of cash for cinema, but did manage one trip per week.

To be off and out of house was expected of men.

Long hours of work.

Rough area.

Marriage.

Homebuilding and saving.

More scope in own home.

His children not sent to Sunday School until aged 12.

Parents and himself - compared.

People in his neighbourhood all 'in the same boat'. (372)

Mrs M. Todd Interviewed 12.5.

See also tapes 53A and 53B

Tape 108A

Childhood.

Allowance plus treats.

Made own entertainments.

Visitors to family home. (072)

Friends.

Sunday School - happy there.

Played in street.

Teens.

Went out twice per week - went out once done chores.

Went out if 'nothing much happening at home'.

Trusted to be back home in the evening.

Friendship of workmates.

Post teens.

Children - less time to go out.

Liked pictures for 'a change'.

Children sent to church.

Her mother had less access to leisure. Not as much money for her parents' generation. (376)

Mrs Rigg Interviewed 13.5.81

See also tapes 57A and 57B

Tape 108B

Childhood.

Allowance of 3d per week.

How spent.

Never sent out of the house.

Friends from neighbourhood.

Natural to go to Sunday School.

Played around the back of the houses.

Teens.

Nightschool 4 nights per week; worked late also.

Weeknights and weekend. (205)

Private and public dances - class.

Millworkers. (240)

Tennis Club.

Friends.

Sundays.

Not important to be able to go out, parents made no stipulations.

Post teens.

Natural to send children to Chapel. (343)

Her access to leisure compared with her parents. (365)

Mr Robb Interviewed 13.5.81

See also tapes 50A and 50B

Tape 109A

Childhood.

Regular allowance - how spent. (023)

Also earned money.

Out playing if not doing chores.

Friends.

Sunday School - parents sent him.

Teens.

Farm service, age 12 - reduced leisure.

Farmer's dances.

Made our own amusements. (253)

Father and mother went out once together. (270)

Post teens.

Important to go out for a change.

Long hours working.

Sundays.

Went out less due to tiredness. (381)

Mr Sewell Interviewed 14.5.81

See also tapes 58A and 58B

Tape 109B Childhood

Allowance - 1d per week; how spent.

Went out - naturally.

Friends.

Sent to Chapel - father thought they would grow up more respectable.

Allowed to stop once working.

Mischief.

Street play.

Teens.

Nightschool.

Played out until 16.

Weekends and weeknights.

Walking.

Friends from the neighbourhood.

Billiards.

Post teens.

Went out less - unemployment.

Poverty and food tickets.

Cinema and billiards if had the money.

Parents were able to enjoy themselves. (411)

Mrs Mason Interviewed 14.5.81

See also tapes 54B and 55B

Tape 110A Childhood.

Allowance - 2d. How spent. (020)

'Millionaires'.

Walking to Chapel.

Not sent out to play.

Sent to Chapel by parents - taken for granted.

Played on other streets - mischief.

Teens.

Went out less in winter. (136)

Also lots of housework to do.

Friends.

Reading.

'Neighbouring'.

Dancing with friends. (236)

TV now.

Dressed up at weekends.

Half-time work.

First wage.

Half-day trips to Blackpool. (339)

Post teens.

Took children to park, less time and money to go out.

Mrs Ferguson Interviewed 15.5.81

See also tapes 40A and 40B

Tape 110B Childhood.

No allowance - took bottles for deposit. How spent.

Never sent out.

Friends.

Sunday School - made to go.

Taken for granted.

Teens.

Cinemas.

Friends.

Carlton - dancing - Wednesdays.

Lack of cash.

Chores to do at home.

Dancing sociable. (120)

Carlton - Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Friends - needed them.

Disliked her first job - could not wait to go home and go out.

Post teens.

Enjoyed home life.

Saved up - lack of funds for leisure.

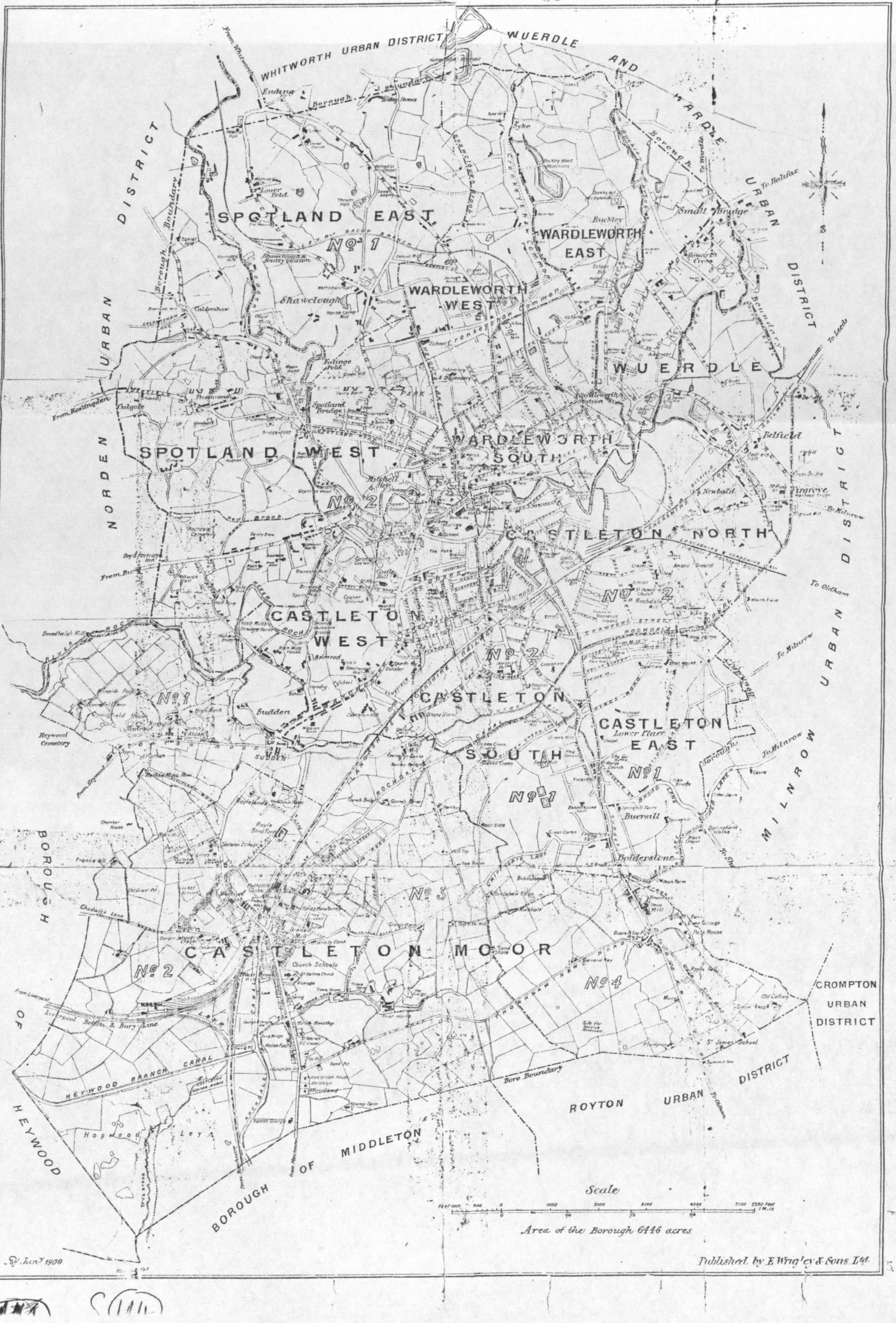
Her access to leisure compared with that of her parents. (215)

APPENDIX 4

MAP OF ROCHDALE COUNTY BOROUGH, DATED 1909
PUBLISHED BY WRIGLEY & SONS

See Overleaf

County Borough of Rochdale.



Introduction

1. See R. W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1973; Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, Croom Helm, London, 1980; Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1978; James Walvin, *Leisure and Society 1830-1950*, Longman, London, 1978; Eileen and Stephen Yeo (eds.), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590-1914*, Harvester, Brighton, 1981; John K. Walton and James Walvin (eds.) *Leisure in Britain, 1780-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1983. Significant contributions have come from writers dealing with a wider field of study, see Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City*, Croom Helm, London, 1974; Stephen Yeo, *Religion and Voluntary Associations in Crisis*, Croom Helm, London, 1976; Helen Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1976; Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1984; Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1971; Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1975; Standish Meacham, *A Life Apart: The English Working Class 1890-1914*, Harvard University Press, Harvard, 1977.

2. Of course these omissions are mainly explained by the lack of 18th and 19th century evidence relevant to the treatment of such aspects of the topic.

3. The term culture refers to the way of life of a particular class, group or social category. For a fuller discussion of the term see Clark, Critcher and Johnson (eds.), *Working Class Culture*, Hutchinson, London, 1979, Ch. 9.

4. See *The Classic Slum*, chapters 1, 2 and 7.

5. See Table VII, 'Index-numbers of Money Wages and of the Cost of Living, 1880 to 1936', in A. L. Bowley, *Wages and Income in the United Kingdom Since 1860*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1937, p.30.

6. See table 4.9, 'Hours of Work of Manual Workers in the U.K. 1900-1968', in H. H. Halsey (ed.), *Trends in British Society Since 1900*, Macmillan, London, 1972.

7. See E. J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, Pelican Books, London, 1969, ch. 8.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

9. See Jerry White, 'Beyond Autobiography', in Ralph Samuel (ed.), *People's History and Socialist Theory*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1981, p.36.

10. See Appendix 1.

11. See Appendix 2.

12. Paul Thompson seems to conceive of the interviewee as a source of evidence akin to an archive. This approach can be seen in his distinction between retrospective bias and a truly authentic account of the past. See *The Edwardians*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1975, p.7 and *The Voice of the Past*, Opus, Oxford, 1978.

13. Very little work has been done on ways of understanding the relationship between past and present forms of consciousness. Any such inquiry of course raises severe problems for studies involving oral material. These issues are raised here, even though the study offers no answers to the questions posed on this matter. Two works have been particularly formative of such questions. They are: The Popular Memory Group, 'Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, Method', in Johnson, McLennan, Schwarz and Sutton (eds.), *Making Histories*, Hutchinson, London, 1982, and Colin McArthur, *Television and History*, British Film Institute, Television Monograph no. 8, 1980.

Chapter 1: Rochdale: An Industrial Town

1. See Ordnance Survey Map 109, Ordnance Survey, Southampton, 1977.

2. See S. J. Chapman, *The Cotton Industry and Trade*, Methuen, London, 1905, chapter 3. The figures are calculated on the basis of spindles and power looms.

3. See the *Census of England and Wales*, 1911, Vol. X, part I, table 15A and 15B, part II, table 13. This factor is mirrored in the range of occupations listed in the details given on the interviewees in the sample. See appendix 1.

4. See the *Census of England and Wales*, 1911, Vol. X, part I, tables 15A and 15B.

5. See H. A. Turner, *Trade Union Growth, Structure and Policy*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1962, chapter 3.

6. *Ibid.*, pages 110 and 111.

7. *Ibid.*, page 111.

8. *Ibid.*, page 114. The spinners, overlookers, tapeziers, twisters, warpdressers and warehousemen deliberately restricted entry; weavers and cardroom amalgamations did not.

9. See R. Robson, *The Cotton Industry in Britain*, Macmillan, London, 1957, p. 5.

10. See T. T. Heywood, *The New Annals of Rochdale*, Rochdale Times, Rochdale, 1931, page 17.

11. See *The Cotton Industry in Britain*, p.5.

12. *Ibid.*, p.7.

13. *New Annals of Rochdale*, p.29.

14. *The Cotton Industry in Britain*, p.8. Also, table 8, on page 344, shows that activity in spinning fell to 58% of full time working, and in weaving to 54%.

15. *New Annals of Rochdale*, p.37.

16. *The Cotton Industry in Britain*, p.10.

17. In 1911 some 5,316 people (one-tenth of the occupied population of Rochdale) were employed in engineering, toolmaking and the metal trades; all but 105 of these workers were men. See the *Census of England and Wales*, 1911, vol. X, part I, tables 15A and 15B.

18. *New Annals of Rochdale*, pp. 19-37.

19. In these towns the figure stood at between 17-21% of insured engineering workers. See The Board of Trade, *An Industrial Survey of Lancashire*, H.M.S.O., London, 1932.

20. See J. B. Jeffreys, *The Story of the Engineers, 1800-1945*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1946.

21. *Ibid.*, p.174.

22. Even though the national unemployment rate never fell below 8% for engineers, the label 'stagnation' seems more apt than 'outright depression'. The 19 years up to 1939 brought more change in the engineering labour force; by 1937 semi skilled workers accounted for 57% of the workforce, whilst in 1914 the figure had been 20%. *Ibid.*, p.207.

23. *Ibid.*, p.198.

24. See K. H. Straw, 'The Engineering Industry in the North West' in *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society*, session 1950-51, p.7.

25. See A. E. Musson, *The Growth of British Industry*, Batsford, London, 1978, chapter 18.

26. See *The Cotton Industry in Britain*, table 16, p.355. By 1937 the proportion had reached over 50 to 1. In Germany the figures were roughly equal in 1913; by 1937 however, spindles installed in rings outnumbered mule spindles by a ratio of over 2 to 1.

27. See Lars Sandberg, *Lancashire in Decline*, Ohio State University Press, Columbia, 1974, p.29.

28. Piecers were the mule spinners' assistants.

29. See *Trade Union Growth, Structure and Policy*, p.142.

30. *Ibid.*, p.143.

31. *Ibid.*, p.390.

32. See *An Industrial Survey of Lancashire*, pages 15 to 17.

33. Early pressure for a shorter working week brought a 56½ hour settlement with the passing of the 1874 Factory Act. A later Act brought a 12 noon finishing time for Saturday work from 1901 onwards; see *Trade Union Growth, Structure and Policy*, pages 389 to 394.

34. See Maxine Berg, *Technology and Toil in Nineteenth Century Britain*, C.S.E. Books, London, 1979, p.41.

35. See *The Story of the Engineers, 1800-1945*, pages 204 and 174.

36. There were other important occupational groups in Rochdale; for instance in 1911, after textile and engineering workers, the most numerous male employees were building and construction workers (over 2,100), those from food, drink, tobacco and lodging (nearly 1,500) and those occupied in road transport (nearly 1,500). For women, after textiles, indoor domestic service was the most common occupation (with over 1,300 workers), whilst the category of 'dealers in food and general shopkeepers and dealers' was the third largest (with more than 700 women involved); see the *Census of England and Wales*, 1911, vol. X, part I, tables 15A and 15B.

Chapter 2: Leisure in the Home

1. Two pieces of work lay particular emphasis on the sexual division of labour in the home; see Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1984, and Jill Liddington and Jill Norris, *One Hand Tied Behind Us*, Virago, London, 1978, chapter 2.

2. See Miss Kay, tape 5A, Mr Roberts, tape 6A, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A, Mrs Scott, tape 24A, Mr Black, tape 26A, Mr Fielding, tape 30A, Mr Bailey, tape 33A, Mr Tetlow, tape 38A, Mrs Clarke, tape 39A, Mr Walker, tape 48A and Mr Sewell, tape 58A.

3. Three of the interviewees - one middle and two working class - recalled their fathers cooking on a regular basis. The work was seen as a special event either as a chance to assist or as providing a day of rest for the mother. See Mr Barrington, tape 51A and Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, and Mr Tipper, tape 44A.

4. See Mr Roberts, tape 6A and Mr Ritchie, tape 50A.

5. See Mr Tattersall, tape 4A, Miss Kay, tape 5A, Mr Parker, tape 14A, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A, Mrs Seddon, tape 34A, Mr Tatham, tape 37A, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mr Walker, tape 48A, and Mr Fawcett, tape 52A.

6. See Mr Tasker, tape 8A, Mrs Martin, tape 10A, and Mrs Casson, tape 12A.

7. See Mrs Ogden, tape 13A.

8. Two of the women interviewees were asked by their employers to leave their place of work once they got married; see Mrs Abbott, tape 35A and Mrs Cheetham, tape 47A. Mrs Abbott was a print worker and Mrs Cheetham an office worker. Many of the women in the sample left paid work voluntarily on having their first child. The 1911 Census reported that 742 out of every 1,000 unmarried females aged 10 and upwards in Rochdale did paid work, whereas for married women the proportion was only 272 per 1,000. See the *Census of England and Wales*, 1911, Vol. X, part I, table 15B.

9. See for example, Mrs Casson, tapes 12A and 12B.

10. See Appendix 1 where class and occupation are listed.

11. See Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A and Mr Tipper, tape 44A.

12. See Mr Tasker, tape 8A, Mrs Martin, tape 10A, and Mrs Casson, tape 12A.

13. See Mrs Watts, tape 41A, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A and Mr Barrington, tape 51A.

14. See Mrs Abbott, tape 35A.

15. In working class homes, which were of the terraced type, the room that was most important was the living room. Within this room, which was usually the only heated room in winter, there was a fire grate, with an oven on one side and a water boiler on the other. This fixture heated the room and provided hot water for all purposes, including bathing and the weekly laundry. It also allowed cooking to be done by placing pans or a kettle over the fire. Below the fire oven was a steel fender which acted as a hearth. The floors in the living room were stone which was left bare and sometimes covered with a chalky stone called donkey stone, conversely it was covered with a series of rugs of coconut matting, or in the case of the better-off families, a square of carpet.

16. See Mrs Abbott, tape 35A (139).

17. See Mrs Elliot, tape 20A (146).

18. See Mr Tate, tape 3A, Mr Tattersall, 4A, Miss Kay, tape 5A, Mr Redfern, tape 6A, Mr Tasker, tape 8A, Miss Garnett, tape 11A, Mr Watson, tape 9A, Mrs Martin, tape 10A, Mrs Casson, tape 12A,

Mrs Ogden, tape 13A, Mr Ogden, tape 6B, Mr Parker, tape 14A, Mrs Harrison, tape 13B, Mrs Riley, tape 16A, Mr Tomlinson, tape 17A, Mr King, tape 18A, Mrs Masters, tape 19A, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A, Mr Parkin, tape 21A, Mrs Parkin, tape 18B, Mrs James, tape 22A, Mrs Scott, tape 24A, Mrs Challinor, tape 25A, Mr Black, tape 26A, Mrs Bennett, tape 28A, Mr Fielding, tape 30A, Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A, Mrs Barker, tape 32A, Mrs Marshall, tape 29B, Mrs Abbott, tape 35A, Mr Rhodes, tape 36A, Mr Tatham, tape 37A, Mr Tetlow, tape 38A, Mrs Clarke, tape 39A, Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mrs Watts, tape 41A, Mr Hall, tape 42A, Miss Shaw, tape 43A, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mr Warburton, tape 45A, Mrs Openshaw, tape 46A, Mrs Cheetham, tape 47A, Mr Walker, tape 48A, Mr Allwork, tape 49A, Mr Robb, tape 50A, Mr Barrington, tape 51A, Mr Fawcett, tape 52A, Mrs Todd, tape 53A, Mrs Mason, tape 54B, Mrs Walsh, tape 55A, Mr Entwistle, tape 56A, Mrs Rigg, tape 57A, Mr Sewell, tape 58A, Mr Knight, tape 59A, and Mr Law, tape 60A.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. See Mrs Schofield, tapes 7A and 7B, and Mrs Watts, tape 41A.

23. See Mr Weir, tape 1B, Mr Tate, tape 3B, Miss Kay, tape 5B, Mr Redfern, tape 6A, Mrs Garnett, tape 11A, Mr Ogden, tape 11B, Mr Farrow, tape 15B, Mr Parkin, tape 21B, Mrs James, tape 22B, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A, Mr Finn, tape 27A, Mrs Challoner, tape 25B, Mr Fielding, tape 30B, Mrs Stott, tape 35B, Mr Tetlow, tape 38a, Mrs Watts, tape 41B, Miss Shaw, tape 43A, Mr Tipper, tape 44B, Mrs Cheetham, tape 47B, Mr Barrington, tape 51B, Mrs Todd, tape 53B, Mrs Mason, tape 54B, Mrs Rigg, tape 57B, Mrs Schofield, tape 7B, Mr Knight, tape 59B, Mr Tasker, tape 8A, Mrs Martin, tape 10B, Mrs Casson, tape 12B, Mrs Harrison, tape 13B, Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mr Black, tape 26B, Mrs Gilbert, tape 31B, Mr Bailey, tape 33B, Mr Tatham, tape 37a, Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mr Robb, tape 50B and Mr Parker, tape 14B.

24. See Mr Tate, tape 3A, Miss Kay, tape 5A, Miss Garnett, tape 11A, Mrs Martin, tape 10A, Mrs Riley, tape 16A, Mrs Masters, tape 19A, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A, Mr Black, tape 26A, Mrs Abbott, tape 35A, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mrs Rigg, tape 57A.

25. Pegged rugs were made by cutting up old clothes into small squares; these squares were then bunched and fixed onto a backing of hessian. Corkwork was a form of plaiting with wool or string, helped by the use of a cotton bobbin, with tacks hammered into its top.

26. See Mr Tasker, tape 8A.

27. See Mrs Marshall, tape 29B.

Chapter 3: Leisure in the Neighbourhood

1. The subjects gambling and prostitution, though relevant to the themes outlined in this chapter, are dealt with in chapter 9.

2. See R. P. Taylor, *Rochdale Retrospect*, The Corporation, Rochdale, 1956, especially the sections on housing, and *Borough Medical Officers' Report*, 1900, plus Ordnance Survey maps dated 1890 and 1910.

3. See Mrs Ogden, tape 13A, Mrs Bennet, tape 28A, Mr Fielding, tape 30A, Mrs Seddon, tape 34A, Mr Rhodes, tape 36A, Mr Allwork, tape 49A, Mr Entwistle, tape 56A, Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mr Hall, tape 42A, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mr Warburton, tape 45A and Mrs Cheetham, tape 47A. For the second category see Mr Bailey, tape 33A, Mr Tetlow, tape 38A, Mrs Mason, tape 54B, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A, and for the third category, see Mrs Watts, tape 41A, Mr Watson, tape 9A and Mr Barrington, tape 51A.

4. See Mrs Bennet, tape 28A and Mr Fielding, tape 30A.

5. See Mr Tetlow, tape 38A (205).

6. See Mr Watson, tape 9A, Mrs Watts, tape 41A, and Mr Barrington, tape 51A. Respondents such as Mrs Marshall, tape 29B, and Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A (from lower-middle and middle class backgrounds respectively) outlined the fact that they lived in a mixed area but they also pointed out that they were not encouraged to play with the 'rough children' in the adjoining streets.

7. Neighbourhood cinemas are dealt with in chapter 9.

8. For example, see Mrs Masters, tape 19A, and Mrs Mason, tape 101A, where they describe their part-time work whilst bringing up their families.

9. See Mr Tattersall, tape 4A, Mr Redfern, tape 6A, Mrs Masters, tape 19a, Mrs Scott, tape 24A, Mr black, tape 26A, Mr Fielding, tape 30A, Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A, Mrs Barker, tape 32A, Mrs Seddon, tape 34A, Mr Rhodes, tape 36A, Mr Hall, tape 42A, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mr Warburton, tape 45A, Mrs Cheetham, tape 47A and Mr Walker, tape 48A. All save Mr Warburton who came from a lower-middle class parental home were from a working class background.

10. See Mr Entwistle, tape 56A and Mr Redfern, tape 6A, where there is evidence that the sheer amount of domestic work prevented their

mothers from going out. Also see Mrs Masters, tape 19A, and Mr Fielding, tape 30A, for instances where financial hardship severely limited leisure outside the home, especially for mothers. Business interests kept two of the lower-middle class mothers tied to the home, see Mr Tattersall, tape 4a and Mr Warburton, tape 45A.

11. See Mr Weir, tape 1A, Mr Tate, tape 3A, Mr Watson, tape 9A, Mrs Marshall, tape 29B, Mrs Openshaw, tape 46A, Mr Allwork, tape 49A, Mr Sewell, tape 58A, Mrs Watts, tape 41A and Mrs Abbott, tape 35A, who each recalled their mother paying visits to family members in the district. Mr Knight, tape 59A, Mrs Openshaw, tape 46A, and Mr Allwork, tape 49A, recalled her 'window shopping', whilst Mrs Ogden, tape 13A, Mrs Masters, tape 19A and Mr Finn spoke of trips to the cinema. Mrs Martin, tape 10A, Mrs Ogden, tape 13A and Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, remembered trips to the variety theatre. Mrs Harrison, tape 13B and Miss Kay, tape 5A, remember their mothers going to the pub and for walks respectively. Mrs Martin, tape 10A, Mr King, tape 18A, Mr Tetlow, tape 38A, Mrs Clarke, tape 39A, Miss Shaw, tape 43A and Mrs Rigg spoke of their mothers' involvement with a range of non-religious clubs.

12. See Mrs Martin, tape 10A and Mrs Rigg, tape 57A. Other interests included attendance at Liberal Club dances; see Miss Shaw, tape 43A.

13. Five respondents spoke of neighbours entering each others' house only in time of need; see Mrs Mason, tape 54B, Mrs Bennett, tape 28A, Mr Fielding, tape 30a, Mr Robb, tape 50a and Mr Warburton, tape 45A. Nine other respondents recalled that contact was mostly confined to a greeting on the street or over the wall, and a third category of statements from 13 people remembered neighbours frequently being in each others' houses. All three categories included respondents from working and middle class parental homes.

14. See Mr Warburton, tape 45A (142).

15. See Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973, chapters 1 and 3, and also Mrs Watts, tape 41A, Mrs Masters, tape 19A, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A, Mrs Abbott, tape 35A and Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A.

16. Out of 47 responses on the topic.

17. See for example, Mrs Harrison, tape 13B, Mrs Riley, tape 16A, and Mr Black, tape 26A.

18. See Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A.

19. Some 15 out of 47 responses on the subject spoke of fathers attending church.

20. See Mrs Casson, tape 12A, Mr Allwork, tape 49A and Mr Tasker, tape 8A.

21. See Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A, Mrs Seddon, tape 34A, Mrs Rigg, tape 57A, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A and Miss Shaw, tape 43A, respectively.

22. In 16 out of 54 instances, mothers did not go out, but this situation was recorded in only 2 out of 47 recollections where the father was concerned.

23. See Mrs Masters, tape 19A, Mr Black, tape 26A, and Mr Fielding, tape 30A.

24. Services, anniversaries, concerts, teas, trips and treats were attended by whole families including at least one parent, usually the mother. Activities for adults included the Mothers' Union, drama clubs, sewing circles, bowling clubs (mainly male), Pleasant Hour groups (women) and Young Men's Classes.

25. See chapter 7.

26. Those in 45 of the parental homes.

27. See Mrs Watts, tape 41A and Mr Warburton, tape 45A.

28. From 11 middle class responses, two spoke of fathers using the pub, whereas out of 36 working class responses, 22 people spoke of such use.

29. See Mr Farrow, tape 15A.

30. See Mrs Scott, tape 24A, Mr Black, tape 26A, Mr Entwistle, tape 56a, Mr Law, tape 60A, Mrs Masters, tape 19A, Mrs Challinor, tape 25A, Mrs Seddon, tape 34A, Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mr Tetlow, tape 38A, Mrs Mason, tape 54B, Mr Finn, tape 27A, Mr Fielding, tape 30A, Mr Bailey, tape 33A, Mr Rhodes, tape 36A, and Mr Fawcet, tape 52A.

31. See Mr Black, tape 26A, Mr Finn, tape 27A, Mrs Masters, tape 19A and Mrs Challinor, tape 25A.

32. See Mr Black, tape 26A (532).

33. *Ibid.*

34. See Mr Black, tape 26A, Mr Entwistle, tape 56A, Mr Law, tape 60A, Mrs Masters, tape 19A, Mr Bailey, tape 33A and Mr Fawcet, tape 52A. All of these people had mothers who had to go out to work to

keep them. The mothers of Mr Entwistle, Mrs Masters and Mr Law also took in washing.

35. See Mr Tetlow, tape 38A.

36. See Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A.

37. See Mr Barrington, tape 104B, and Mrs Marshall, tape 105B.

38. See Mrs Marshall, tape 29B and Mrs Watts, tape 41A.

39. See for example, Mrs Mason, tape 54B, Mr Warburton, tape 45A, Mr Bailey, tape 103A, Mr Law, tape 60A, and Mr Tate, tape 3A.

40. See Mrs Marshall, tape 29B and Mrs Watts, tape 41A.

41. See Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A, Mrs Cheetham, tape 47A, Mr King, tape 18A and 101B, and Mr Watson, tape 9A.

42. *i.e.* for 23 out of 31 male respondents.

43. See Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A and Mr Rhodes, tape 36A.

44. See Mr Warburton, tape 45A, Mrs Watts, tape 41A, Mr Parkin, tape 21A, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A, Mr King, tape 18A, Mrs Challinor, tape 25A, and Mrs Ferguson, tape 40a.

45. See Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mr Tattersall, tape 4A, Mr King, tape 18A, Mrs Challinor, tape 25A and Mr Tatham, tape 37A.

46. See Mrs Martin, tape 10A, Mrs Casson, tape 12A, Mr Parker, tape 14A, Mr King, tape 18A, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A, Mrs Clarke, tape 39A, Mr Walker, tape 48A, Mr Allwork, tape 49A, Mr Robb, tape 50A, Mr Fawcet, tape 52a, Mrs Todd, tape 53A, Mrs Mason, tape 54B, and Mr Entwistle, tape 56A. All but two of these were working class.

47. See Miss Kay, tape 5A (360) and also Mrs Clarke, tape 39A, Miss Garnett, tape 11A and Mrs Martin, tape 10A.

48. See Mrs Clarke, tape 39A.

49. See Mr King, tape 18A and 101B.

50. See Mr Allwork, tape 49A.

51. See Borough of Rochdale, *Proceedings of the Watch Committee*. For instance on November 11th, 1897, 7 boys were charged with having

played in a public street during October. Each were fined 1/- on admitting the offence. See also November 3rd and December 9th entries, together with Rochdale Borough, *Magistrates Court Records*, for November and December 1907 and January 1908.

52. See Mr Law, tape 60A and Mr Tetlow, tape 38A. Police sometimes took action against youths playing cricket in the street; Rochdale Borough, *Magistrates Court Records*, June 1908 and June and August 1933.

53. See Mr King, tape 101B, Mrs Elliot, tape 103B, Mrs Cheetham, tape 107A, Mr Sewell, tape 109B, Mrs Mason, tape 110A.

54. See *Proceedings of the Watch Committee*, 1899.

55. See Ordnance Survey maps of Rochdale dated 1890 and 1910.

56. Some 11 respondents were once members of the Boys Brigade, 12 were Scouts and 7 were Girl Guides.

57. The Boys Brigades were based on Anglican or Roman Catholic churches, whereas the Life Brigades were connected with the non-conformist establishments. See Mr Parkin, tape 21A, Mr Finn, tape 27A, Mr Walker, tape 48a, and Mr Hall, tape 42A.

58. See Mr Watson, tape 9A.

59. See Mr Ogden, tape 6B.

60. See Mr Tetlow, tape 38A, and Mr Allwork, tape 49A, respectively.

61. See for instance, Mrs Ogden, tape 13A and Miss Garnett, tape 11A.

62. See Mr Tasker, tape 8A, Mrs Challinor, tape 25A and Mr Bailey, tape 33B.

63. See Mr Tetlow, tape 38A.

64. See Mr Allwork, tape 49a.

65. See Mr Finn, tape 27A and Mr Rhodes, tape 36A.

66. See Mrs Riley, tape 16A.

67. See Mr Hall, tape 42A.

68. See Mr Walker, tape 48A.

69. See Mr Farrow, tape 15A.

70. See chapter 8.

71. See Mr Tasker, tape 8A, and Mrs Martin, tape 10A, who estimates that there were 45 children in the Rochdale Socialist Sunday School in the decade following the First World War.

72. See Mrs Casson, tape 12A and Mrs Abbott, tape 35A, both recalled Monday night visits.

73. See Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A.

Chapter 4: Youth, Work, Marriage and Leisure

1. The first experience of work for many of the interviewees was as a half time worker in a cotton mill. Between 10 and 14 years of age, and on reaching a prescribed educational standard, children could work for half days in the mill. The system was abolished in 1921. See, Irene Burke, *The Recruitment of Juvenile Labour for the Cotton Industry*, M.A. Thesis, University of Manchester, 1931, Introduction.

2. The term youth refers to people between the ages of 14 and 18.

3. See Mrs James, tape 22a, 102B, and also Mr Tatham, tape 37a. The former came from a family with a small but prosperous business, the latter from a comfortable working class background.

4. See Mr Tetlow, tape 38B (185).

5. Some 49 people spoke about their spending patterns and of these 12 recalled the 1d in the 1/- system.

6. The 'bottom drawer' referred to a collection of household goods such as bedding and intensils that would be needed after marriage. This concerned mainly the young women.

7. See Mrs Barker, tape 32A and Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A. Both are from a working class background. See also Mrs Scott, tape 24A (poor working class), Mr Tetlow, tape 38B and 107B (skilled working class), Mr Knight, tape 59B (unskilled working class) and Mr Tate, (lower middle class background).

8. See Miss Garnett, tape 11A, Mrs Watts, tape 41A, and Mr Barrington, tape 51A.

9. Mrs Abbott (see tape 35A) was a winder and later a forewoman in a printroom. Mrs Bennett was a pieceworker in the ring spinning section of a cotton mill (see tape 28A).

10. See Mrs Scott, tape 24A, Mrs Seddon, tape 34A (poor working class) and compare with Mrs Rigg, tape 57A (lower middle class), Mr Allwork, tape 49A (lower middle class) and Mrs Openshaw, tape 46A (working class).

11. There were 37 responses (19 female 18 male) to this question.

12. For three examples see Mr Sewell, tape 58A, Miss Garnett, tape 11A, and Mr Tetlow, tape 107B.

13. See Mrs Parkin, tape 18B (150).

14. See Mrs Watts, tape 41A and Mr King, tapes 18B and 101B.

15. See Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mrs Ferguson, tape 40a, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mr Warburton, tape 45A, Mrs Todd, tape 53B, Mr Entwistle, tape 56A, Mr Knight, tape 59a, Mr Law, tape 60A and Mr Fielding, tape 30B.

16. See Mr Warburton, tape 45A (268).

17. See Mrs Todd, tape 53B (242) and Mr Knight, tape 59A (513).

18. See Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A.

19. See Peter Bailey,*Leisure and Class in Late Victorian Britain*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1978, p.155.

20. See Mrs Todd, tape 53A (300).

21. See Mr Allwork, tape 49A, Mr Hall, tape 42A and Mr Walker, tape 48A. also see Mrs Barker, tape 32A and Mrs Marshall, tape 29B.

22. See Mrs Harrison, tape 13B, Mrs Shaw, tape 43A and Mr Allwork, tape 49A.

23. See Mrs Ferguson, tape 40a, Mrs Barker, tape 32A, Mr Allwork, tape 49A and Mr Warburton, tape 45A for examples.

24. See Mrs Martin, tape 10A, Mrs Mason, tape 110A, Mrs Openshaw, tape 46A, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A and Mrs Abbott, tape 35A.

25. See Mrs James, tape 22A, Mrs Abbott, tape 35A and Mrs Rigg, tape 57A.

26. See Mr Law, tape 102A (231).

27. See Mr Law, tape 102A, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mr Rhodes, tape 37A, Mr Allwork, tape 49A, Mr Tetlow, tape 38A, Mr Entwistle, tape 56A and Mr Tattersall, tape 4A.

28. See Mrs Gilbert, tape 101A (394).

29. See Mrs Elliot, tape 103B (311).

30. See Mr Tattersall, tape 4A (531).

31. See Mrs Scott, tape 105A (111).

32. All but a few of the respondents attended the cinema at least once a fortnight during their teens. It is also important to note that age groupings are skewed to the effect that people born between 1900 and 1920 are more numerous than those born in each of the 1880-1900 and 1920-1939 periods.

33. For examples see Mr Hall, tape 42A, Mr Walker, tape 48A, Mr Allwork, tape 49A, Mr Law, tape 60a, Mr Bailey, tape 33A, Mr Tattersall, tape 4A, Mr Tipper, tape 44A and Mr Redfern, tape 6A.

34. For examples see Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A, Mrs Cheetham, tape 47A, Mrs Scott, tape 24B, Mr Allwork, tape 49A and Mr Warburton, tape 45A.

35. See Mr Law, tape 60A, and Mr Knight, tape 59A.

36. Mr Finn, tape 27A, Mrs Watts, tape 41A and Mr Tattersall, tape 4A.

37. Falinge Road, which borders Falinge Park.

38. See Mrs Scott, tape 24A, and Miss Kay, tape 5B. Yorkshire Street bordered one side of a particularly rough area of housing, and was considered to be of a lower class than the other venues.

39. See Miss Kay, tape 5B (363).

40. See Mrs Elliot, tape 103b, Mrs Cheetham, tape 107A and Mrs Ferguson, tape 110B.

41. See Mr Rhodes, tape 36B.

42. See Mr Bailey, tape 33B, Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mr Warburton, tape 45A and Mr Knight, tape 59B.

43. See Mr Knight, tape 59B (478) and Mrs Ferguson, tape 110B (128.

44. See Mrs Elliot, tape 103B, Mrs Cheetham, tape 107A, Mrs Abbott, tape 104A, Mr Tattersall, tape 106B, Mr Tetlow, tape 38A, 107B, and Mr Bailey, tape 103A.

45. See note 17. above.

46. Mr Tasker 8A: pubs and smoking not allowed until 18.
Mr Allwork 49A: forbidden to enter pubs. But he went.
Mr Watson 9B: gambling forbidden.
Mr Ogden 6B: cinema initially seen by his parents as suspect.
Mr Tate 3A: 'never encouraged' to smoke or go to the music hall. Enjoyed both in small amounts.
Mr Warburton 45A: pubs out of bounds. He went drinking once a week.

47. For examples see Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mrs Todd, tape 53B, Mrs Harrison, tape 13B, Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A, Mrs Barker, tape 32A, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A, Miss Kay, tape 5B, Mrs Mason, tape 55B, and Mrs Casson, tape 12A.

48. See Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1984, pages 68 to 73.

49. Miss Long was forbidden to go to the music hall. Mrs Masters, tape 19A, was forbidden to go dancing or drinking. Mrs Casson's mother felt a particular cinema 'too rough'. Mrs Riley, tape 16A, was told not to go 'clicking' or parading. Mrs Elliot, tape 20A, Mrs Parkin, tape 18B and Mrs James, tape 22B, were warned against pubs.

50. See Mr Barrington, tape 51B, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A, Mrs Watts, tape 41B, Mrs Walsh, tape 55A, Mr Watson, tape 9A, Mrs Rigg, tape 57A, Mr Tate, tape 3A and Miss Shaw, tape 43A.

51. See Mr Parkin, tape 21A, Mrs Parkin, tape 18B, Mrs Gilbert, tapes 31A and 101A. Mrs Gilbert subsequently added that unemployment, which came after only a few years' marriage, had a drastic effect on her leisure.

52. See Mrs James, tape 22A, Mr Tasker, tape 8A, Mr Bailey, tape 33A, Mr Hall, tape 42A, Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mr Walker, tape 48A, Mrs Ogden, tape 13A and Mr Ogden, tape 6B.

53. See Mr Robb, tape 50A (141).

54. See Mr Bailey, tape 33B (109).

55. See Mrs Casson, tape 12A (509). She was the sole breadwinner due to her husband's illness.

56. See Mr Tattersall, tape 4A, Mr Tetlow, tape 107B and Mrs Rigg, tape 57A.

57. See Mrs Harrison, tape 13B.

58. See Mr Bailey, tape 33B, Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mr Tipper, tape 44B and Mr Entwistle, tape 56A.

59. See Mrs Scott, tape 105A (225).

60. See Mr Tetlow, tape 107B.

61. See for example Mr King, tape 18A and tape 101B, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23B, Mrs Watts, tape 41A, Mr Watson, tape 9B, Mr Barrington, tape 51A, Mr Tate, tape 3A, Mr Parkin, tape 21A, Mrs Parkin, tape 18B, Mrs Martin, tape 10A and Mr Tattersall, tape 4B.

62. See Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A.

63. See Mrs Gilbert, tape 31B (041). Also Mr Tattersall, tape 4A, Mr Ogden, tape 6B, Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A and Mr Black, tape 26A.

64. See Mr Farrow, tape 15A, Mrs Rigg, tape 57B, Mr Tasker, tape 8B, Mr Tomlinson, tape 17B and Mr Barrington, tape 51A.

Chapter 5: Work and Leisure

1. Stanley Parker offers a three-fold typology for the understanding of the relationship between work and leisure. The first type of relationship he calls the oppositional pattern, which is characterised by a firm demarcation and discontinuity between the two. This explanation relates very closely to the description of the relationship suggested by the interviews. See Stanley Parker, *The Sociology of Leisure*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1976, chapter 5.

2. See Mr Tattersall, tape 106B (524).

3. See Mr Bailey, tape 103A (460) and also the remarks of Mr Law, tape 102A, Mrs Jackson, tape 102B, Mrs Clegg, tape 101A, Mrs Gorton, tape 101A, together with the majority of working class respondents who make less explicit judgements, but from which similar conclusions can be drawn.

4. See Mr Barrington, tape 104B, Mr Tate, tape 106A, Mrs Rigg, tape 108B, Mr King, tape 101B, Mr Tomlinson, tape 17A and Mrs Watts, tape 41A.

5. See Mr Tate, tape 106A.

6. See Mr Barrington, tape 104B, Mrs Watts, tape 41A, Mrs Rigg, tape 108B and Mr King, tape 101B.

7. See Mrs Rigg, tape 108B.

8. The desire to offer an alternative to the pub was the important element in the provision made by Pilkington Brothers (glass manufacturers) of St Helen's. See James Arnold, *The Influence of Pilkington Brothers on the Growth of Sport and Community Recreation in St Helen's*, M.Ed. thesis, Liverpool University, 1977.

9. See Mrs Riley, tape 16A and Mr Rhodes, tape 36A, together with *Bright's House Journal*, vol. 2, April 1922, no. 18.

10. See Mrs Casson, tape 12A.

11. See Mr Tipper, tape 44A and also *The Rochdale Observer* (hereafter R.O.), July 19, 1922, p.1., col. 1., where the Robinson Recreation Club whist drive was advertised to all comers. This was probably a fund-raising event to supplement the firm's contribution to club costs.

12. See Mr Weir, tape 1B.

13. See Mr Bailey, tape 33A. Mr Bailey was an ex employee. See also *Industrial Welfare*, April 1932, p.239 where the visit of the Duke of York to the factory is reported, with some reference to the recreational facilities he saw.

14. See *Industrial Welfare*, January 1922, p.33.

15. *Ibid.*, February 1938, p.148, and February 1939, p.62. (The Kodak club served alcohol, the Horlicks club did not.) Between 1918 and 1939 the Industrial Welfare magazine reported on the many leisure and welfare schemes (the latter including education and medical care) run mainly by the larger firms in Britain. The list of firms visited included: Fry, Cadbury, Rowntree, the London Brick Co., Burgess Ledward and Co (Textiles), Kodak, the Icilma Trading Co. Ltd., Horlicks, B.I.C.C., Manfield (footwear), J. Lucas, C.W.S., Vauxhall Motors, Chloride, I.C.I., Kelsall and Kemp, Morris Motors, Albert E. Reed, and Philip's Electrical. An article in the 1936 series of the journal indicated that at least 200 firms in Britain had recreational facilities at that time.

16. See *R.O.*, July 28, 1934, p.10, col. 1.

17. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1938, p.11, cols. 3, 4 and 5. The article included pictures of workers and management.

18. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1938, p.8, col. 2: a report on Dunlop Sports 5th Annual Gala. See also Mr Knight, tape 59B, who worked at Dunlop.

19. For examples of those without recreational facilities at work, see Mr Finn, tape 2B, Mr Warburton, tape 45B, Mr Entwistle, tape 56B, Mrs Barker, tape 32A, Mrs Ferguson, tape 40B and Mrs Seddon, tape 34A. The Christmas 'footing' was a lunchtime party with food and drink held in the mill. Each of the workers contributed a little money each week; see Mrs Elliot, tape 20A.

20. See Mrs Cheetham, tape 47B, Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mr Rhodes, tape 36B, Mr Sewell, tape 58B and Mrs Mason, tape 55B.

21. See Mr Hall, tape 42a.

22. See Mrs Masters, tape 19A.

Chapter 6: The Changing Public House: The Brewers and the State

1. See Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1978, p.168.

2. See Brian Harrison's contribution to *The Victorian City*, Dyos and Wolf (eds.), Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1977. On p.175 he notes that

> Here as elsewhere, publicans had the initiative to provide the community with a new service, then specialised in it, then lost control of it altogether.

3. See A. E. Dingle, 'Drink and Working Class Living Standards in Britain 1870-1914' in *Economic History Review*, XXV (No. 4), Nov. 1972.

4. See Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*, Faber and Faber, London 1971, for a detailed insight into temperance based agitation and reform.

5. See John Vaizey, *The Brewing Industry 1886-1951*, Pitman and Sons, London, 1960, also K. H. Hawkins and C. L. Pass, *The Brewing Industry*, Heinemann, London, 1979, especially chapter 2.

6. See *The Brewing Industry 1886-1951*, table 1, p.12.

7. *Ibid.*, p.6.

8. See P. Mathias, *The Retailing Revolution*, Longmans, London, 1967, p.7.

9. See George B. Wilson, *Alcohol and the Nation*, Nicholson and Watson Ltd., London, 1940, table on p.333. Wilson was a pro-temperance writer and reformer.

10. *Ibid.*, chapter 9. See also Julian L. Baker, *The Brewing Industry*, Methuen, London, 1905, pp. 154-163. Whilst G. B. Wilson writes from a pro-temperance background, Baker tends to take a position in defence of the drink trade.

11. See the Final Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Liquor Licensing Laws, *Parliamentary Papers, 1899, XXXV, chapter V.*

12. See *Alcohol and the Nation*, p.86.

13. See *The Brewing Industry 1886-1951*, p.9.

14. See *Alcohol and the Nation*, p.86.

15. See *The Brewing Industry*, (J. L. Baker), p.144.

16. See D. M. Knox 'The Development of the Tied House System in London', *Oxford Economic Papers*, Vol. 10 (New Series), 1958, pp. 66-83, cited in *The Brewing Industry* (Hawkins and Pass), p.26.

17. See E. A. Pratt, *The Licensed Trade: An Independent Survey*, John Murray, London, 1907, p.93.

18. The 1932 Royal Commission pointed out that the 1904 Act brought far fewer closures than had been expected or had been demanded by the temperance lobby. It said

> We are bound to record that in the period between 1904 and 1930 the number of licenses was diminished by some 22,143 only, *viz.*, from 99,478 to 77,335, and that this reduction was not wholly due to the operation of the scheme instituted in 1904.

See the Final Report of the *Royal Commission on Licensing* (England and Wales), 1929-31, (1932), p.25.

19. See *The Brewing Industry 1886-1951*, p.18.

20. *Ibid.*

21. In 1914 duty payment amounted to roughly 15% of total retail costs by 1920 the figure was 40% and in 1936 it was 60%. *Ibid.*, p.24-26.

22. See the Committee on the Disinterested Management of Public Houses, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1927, X, p.1119.

23. Until 1830 there were no laws to dictate the opening hours of licensed premises in England and Wales. From then until 1872 a series of piecemeal Acts were passed to reduce consumption on Sundays and also put an end to all night drinking during the rest of the week. In 1872 a Liberal Government passed an Act determining hours for all licensed premises; however, times for opening and closing were not fixed absolutely. A Conservative Government in 1874 extended evening drinking hours slightly, and also fixed absolute opening times:

	Sundays	Weekdays
Metropolis	1.00pm to 3.00pm 6.00pm to 11.0pm	5.00am to 12.30am (Saturday:midnight)
Towns and Populous Places	12.30pm to 2.30pm 6.00pm to 10.0pm	6.00am to 11.00pm
Rural Districts	12.30pm to 2.30pm 6.00pm to 10.0pm	6.00am to 10.00pm

The 1881 Sunday Closing (Wales) Act prohibited the sale of beer in licensed premises in Wales on Sunday, except to travellers on railway stations, but in other respects closing hours remained unchanged until 1914. After the D.O.R.A. legislation of the war years closing hours were as follows:

On Sale

Weekdays - 12 noon to 2.30pm; 6.30pm to 9.30pm (or even 8pm in certain areas); but 6 to 8pm in all areas on Saturday.

Sundays - 12.30 (or 1) pm to 2.30 (or 3)pm; 6pm (in certain cases 6.30pm) to 9pm (or 8pm); with Sunday closing in Wales, Monmouthshire and Scotland.

The Licensing Act, 1921, gave legal emphasis to the ability of pub owners to stay open after statutory hours to sell non-alcoholic beverages and provide food. This was commensurate with much of pro-trade progressive opinion which saw the pub less and less as a purveyor of drink to the exclusion of its other roles. The Act also stipulated an earliest morning and evening hour, a maximum number of hours and a break of at least two hours at midday. See the *Royal Commission on Licensing* (England and Wales) 1929-1931. Report (1932) pp. 3/4 and p.259, and also *Alcohol and the Nation*, pp. 154-158.

24. This referred to the buying of beer for men in uniform, or for those directly involved in munitions work. See Arthur Shadwell, *Drink 1914-1922*, Longmans Green, London, 1923, Ch. 2. Shadwell seems to have represented the idea of limited reform of the licensing system, the trade and the public house.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 95/6.

26. See *Alcohol and the Nation* (table), p.333.

27. See *The Brewing Industry 1886-1951*

28. *Ibid.*, p.26.

29. See Dutton's Blackburn Brewery Ltd., *150 Years of the House of Dutton*, 1799-1949, Dutton's Ltd., Blackburn, 1949, p.14.

30. *Ibid.*

31. See *Licensed Victuallers' Gazette*, Dec 5, 1919, p.10, col. 1.

32. See *The Brewing Industry 1886-1951*, p.28.

33. See the Committee on the Disinterested Management of Public Houses, Parliamentary Papers, 1927, X, p.1119. The report offers a clue to official thinking on such issues as management, social function, and the desirability of business monopoly. See especially pp. 10-23 of the report.

34. See the Final Report on Licensing (England and Wales) 1929-31 (1932), and The Fellowship for Freedom and Reform *Monthly Bulletin*, especially Basil Oliver's article on 'The Modern Public House' in Oct. 1933, vol. 3, no. 10, p.153. In the final report of the Royal Commission opinion oscillated between a desire to strictly control certain aspects of the trade - such as pub management - and an acceptance of its important social role. The overall thrust of the report seemed to be towards the 'fewer and better' maxim held by the Fellowship for Freedom and Reform, a largely pro-drink reforming body.

35. See the Parliamentary Committee on the Disinterested Management of Public Houses, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1927, X, p.1119, report p.22.

36. See 'The Modern Public House'.

37. See *The Brewing Industry* (Hawkins and Pass), p.45.

38. See the Fellowship for Freedom and Reform, *Monthly Bulletin*, July 1931, vol. 1, no. 7, p.2.

39. *Ibid.*, Jan. 1933, vol. 3, no. 1, p.12.

40. *Ibid.*, Oct. 1933, vol. 3, no. 10, pp. 153-5.

41. See *The Brewing Industry* (Hawkins and Pass), p.47.

42. See J. W. P. and K. G. Groves, *The History of a Brewery*, Groves and Whitnall, Manchester, 1949. This brewery had houses in South Lancashire and in Cheshire, see especially pp. 19-27; Mitchells and Butlers Ltd, *Fifty Years of Brewing 1879-1929*, M & B, Smethwick, 1929; see especially the chapter on 'Service Beyond the Brewery'.

43. See the *Royal Commission on Licensing* (England and Wales) 1929-1931, Report (1932), p.7.

44. *Ibid.*, p.9.

45. See A. E. Dingle, 'Drink and working class Living Standards in Britain, 1870-1914' in *Economic History Review*, 25 (1972) no. 4, Nov., p.619.

46. See the *Royal Commission on Licensing* (England and Wales) 1929-1931, Report (1932), p.11.

47. *Ibid.*, p.12. See also a Report written by a committee including Prof. A. L. Bowley, M. B. Seebohm Rowntree and Sir John Mann; *The Social and Economic Aspects of the Drink Problem*, Gollancz, London, 1931.

48. Speech by Sir Edgar Saunders to the Brewers' Society, 1930, quoted in *Alcohol and the Nation*, p.268.

49. For further details of such advertising campaigns see Mass Observation, *The Pub and the People*, Gollancz, London, 1943.

Chapter 7: The Pub in Rochdale: Taboos and Habits

1. See A. E. Dingle, 'Drink and Working-Class Living Standards in Britain, 1870-1914' in *Economic History Review* 25, November 1972, p.622.

2. The *Brewers' Almanack* calculated that in 1962 the average retail price for a pint of beer was 6d; two years later, the cost of the cheapest seat at a local super cinema for continuous sound performances was 3d, and the dearest 1/-. See 'Brewery Profits and the Price of Beer' in the *Brewers' Almanack*, 1927, p.96/7, and *R.O.*, March 24, p.1, col. 7.

3. For example, Mr Weir, tape 2A, had 8 pubs near his home, Mr Entwistle, tape 56B, had 6 pubs within 5 minutes' walking distance. See also Mrs Martin, tape 10B; Mr Tomlinson, tape 17B; Mr Robb, tape 50B; and Mr Sewell, tape 58B. See also Appendix 4.

4. Roughly one-third of the sample said they did not drink or go to the pub. A two-thirds majority of these were women.

5. See Parliamentary Papers, 1890, LXIII, p.65, and 1939/40, XI, p.605, The Rochdale and District Temperance Union 20th Annual Report, 1909-10 and *The Rochdale Times* (hereafter *R.T.*), August 23, 1890, p.5, col. 3.

6. See Mrs Openshaw, tape 46B, and Mr Fielding, tape 30B.

7. See Miss Kay, tape 5B.

8. *Ibid.*, (545).

9. See Mrs Watts, tape 41B.

10. See Mrs Ogden, tape 13A (573); also Mrs Martin, tape 10B; Mrs Garnett, tape 11A; Mrs Masters, tape 19B; Mrs Scott, tape 24B; Mrs Marshall, tape 32B; Mrs Cooper, tape 39A; Mrs Ferguson, tape 40B, and Mrs todd, tape 53B. Mrs Cooper and Mrs Ferguson recall V.E. night in 1945 as the time after which they felt able to go to and be accepted in a pub, without being escorted or 'taken' there.

11. See Mrs Garnett, tape 11A (371).

12. See Mrs Masters, tape 19B (444).

13. See Box W.1, folders A, C and D in the Mass Observation Archive at the Tom Harrison Library, University of Sussex; also chapters 2 and 5 in *The Pub and the People*, Gollancz, London, 1943.

14. See Mrs Mason, tape 55B, and Mrs Harrison, tape 13B.

15. See Mrs Barker, tape 32A. However, another piece of evidence suggests that Mrs Barker was far from an isolated example. A Chief Constables' report made in six major English cities suggested that the practice of women entering pubs alone, or with their children, was prevalent. The Chief Constable of Manchester wrote

> The practice is most prevalent on Saturdays and Mondays, particularly on Mondays, which, in the large manufacturing towns of the north is the day of the week when women of the lower classes largely frequent public houses for the purposes of drinking together. (Report, p.9)

However, the Report points out that there had been no uniform principles in operation for the selection of premises to be observed, so that the pubs mentioned in Manchester may not have

been representative. No details were given about the time of the visits to the pub, or whether they were women workers, doing much the same as Mrs Barker. No details as to the proportion of female drinkers were given for Manchester or the other five cities. See *Parliamentary Papers*, 1908, LXXXIX, p.265, 'Information obtained from Certain Police Forces as to the Frequenting of Public Houses by Women and Children'.

16. See B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty and Progress*, Longmans, London, 1941, Ch. XIII.

17. *Ibid.*, p.356.

18. See B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty; A Study of Town Life*, Nelson and Sons, London, 1903. See the supplementary chapter, especially p.381.

19. See *The Social and Economic Aspects of the Drink Problem*, Gollancz, London, 1931, p.91; also the Royal Commission on Licensing (England and Wales) 1929-31, Report, 1932.

20. See also E. J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1969, p.221.

21. See *Poverty and Progress*, p.356.

22. These included men from working and lower middle class backgrounds.

23. See Mr Tasker, tape 8a and Mr Walker, tape 48B.

24. See Mr Rhodes, tape 36B.

25. See Mr Tatham, tape 37B.

26. See Mr Allwork, tape 49B (034). His parents owned a corner shop in a poorer area of the town.

27. See Mr Redfern, tape 6a. Mr Redfern lived in Littleborough, a smallish township on the eastern border of the borough. His father worked in a semi-skilled job in a sanitary pipe factory.

28. See Mr Warburton, tape 45B. Both Mr Warburton and Mr Allwork reached the age of 21 after 1930, thus suggesting that for their parents the image of the pub had not improved. The other five men (footnotes 23 to 27 above) came from an earlier generation with birthdays between 1894 and 1905.

29. See Mrs Martin, tape 10B, Mr Warburton, tape 45B, Mr Allwork, tape 49B, Mrs Gilbert, tape 101A. During the early 1930s a drink of Sarsparilla cost 2d. Shop opening hours were kept, plus evening

openings between 7pm and 11pm.

30. See Mr Rhodes, tape 36B, and Mr Knight, tape 59B.

31. Remarks made on fathers' drinking habits were drawn from a total of 17 taped interviews, those concerning their own doings came from 16 respondents.

32. See also Mr Robb, tape 50B and Mrs Mason (a barmaid), tape 55B. They both spoke of pubs being crowded at the weekend and relatively quiet in the week.

33. See Mrs Riley, speaking about her father, on tape 16A.

34. See Mr Tomlinson, tape 17B.

35. See Mrs Masters, tape 19B. Once married she became a barmaid at a local pub. She recalled that a night out for her customers usually included a trip to 2 or 3 local pubs, and at weekends this might include a town centre pub.

36. See also Peter Bailey's remarks on the gregariousness of the pub in *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1978, p.171.

37. In a few families this question was the basis for disagreement and ill-feeling. See Mr Fielding, tape 30a, Mr Tetlow, tape 38a, and Mrs Openshaw, tape 46A.

38. See Mr Weir, tape 2A, Mr Tattersall, tape 4B and Miss Kay, tape 5B, respectively. Some idea of the proportion of respectable and less respectable pubs is offered by Mr Farrow, an ex policeman. He said that the great majority of pubs in the borough were respectable and that there was very little trouble, especially in the pubs to the south of the town. See tape 15B.

39. See a report on the formation of the Rochdale and District Cyclists Association here, in the Rochdale Observer, June 15, 1901, p.5, col. 1.

40. See Mr Warburton, tape 45B.

41. See Mrs Casson, tape 12B, Mr Parker, tape 14B, and Mr Entwistle, tape 56B; one of his six locals was considered highly respectable, or to use his word, 'posh'.

42. See Mrs Casson, tape 12B.

43. See Mr Tatham, tape 37B. There seems to have been an implicit comparison between the crudity of the pub then, and the relative plushness of present day premises. Also important is the fact that his mother was particularly against his going to the pub as a young man.

44. See Mr Rhodes, tape 36B.

45. See Mrs Masters, tape 19B. (510)

46. See Mrs Scott, tape 24B, and Mrs Riley, tape 16B.

47. See Mrs Harrison, tape 13B and Mr Rhodes, tape 36B.

48. See a report on a pigeon show at the Vavasour Hotel which served a large, densely packed area of working class housing. See *R.O.*, November 16th, 1887, p.2, col. 4.

49. See the *Royal Commission on Licensing* (England and Wales) 1929-31, Report, 1932, p.46.

50. See the Committee on the Disinterested Management of Public Houses, O & P.P. 1927, X, p.1119.

51. See *R.T.*, February 11 1882, p.7, col. 2.

52. See the *Royal Commission on Licensing* (England and Wales) 1929-31, Report, 1932, p.179. Also see the *Licensed Victuallers Gazette*, December 7 1906, p.11, col.2, where a note was also made of the growing popularity of billiards on a national scale.

53. See Mr Rhodes, tape 36B, Mr Entwistle, tape 56B, Mr Warburton, tape 45B and Mr Robb, tape 60B.

54. See the Rochdale Observer, December 4 1920, p.11, col.3. There were at least 9 billiards matches held during the previous week.

55. See *R.O.*, August 21 1897, p.4, col.5. In addition there are some details about the savings clubs in Bolton (Worktown) in *The Pub and the People*, Gollancz, London, 1943, p.270/1.

61. See Mr King, tape 18A and also *R.O.*, February 11 1888, p.5, col.2:

> St. Peter's Football Club held their first smoking concert on Saturday evening at the Vavasour Hotel, their headquarters, and a very pleasant evening was spent.

Thirteen years later the Rochdale and District Cyclists Association was formed at the Clock Face Hotel; *ibid.*, June 15 1901, p.5, col.1.

62. See Mr Tomlinson, tape 17B. Kner and Spel was a game based on hitting a ball or similar object the furthest possible distance.

63. See *R.O.*, March 14 1891, p.4, col.6. The Society was formed 'to embrace poultry, pigeons, rabbits, cavies etc.', and suggested a more privatised set of practices than did the sport-based clubs.

64. See Mrs Marshall, tape 32B.

65. The ILP had rooms on Hunters Lane, the A.E.U. at the Butts and the GWU on Drake St. added to this were the frequent bookings made for meetings and events at the Pioneer and Provident (Cooperative) Halls. The Temperance Hall was also booked on occasions, perhaps highlighting the anti-drink element present within the ILP and Labour Party in Rochdale during the period. See for example the *Rochdale Labour News*, October 21 1922, (4 pages), which offers some idea of the range of meetings and venues used in the inter-war period.

66. See Mr Farrow, tape 15B. Mr Farrow was a policeman who patrolled no. 6 beat (the area mentioned) for several years.

67. See Mrs Gardiner, tape 23B.

68. See the chapter by Brian Harrison on pubs in Dyos and Wolf (eds.), *The Victorian City*, R.K.P., London, 1973.

69. Gaming in pubs had been made illegal by 1828. The law was then reinforced by the 1872 and 1910 statutes, see the Royal Commission on Licensing (England and Wales), 1929-31, Report, 1932, p.54.

70. See Mr Entwistle, tape 56B, and Rochdale Borough, *Magistrates Court Records*, September 25, 1907, where a beerhouse keeper is recorded as being found guilty of 'suffering gaming on his premises' and asked to pay 19s 9d costs, whilst being discharged on one month's surety.

71. See Mrs Scott, tape 24B, Miss Kay, tape 5B, and Rochdale Borough, *Magistrates Court Records*, June 15, 1908, where a prostitute and her pimp were found guilty of indecent behaviour and other charges in a local pub.

72. See Mrs Masters, tape 19B, Mrs Scott, tape 24B, and Mr Warburton, tape 45B.

73. A music license was not needed if singing was on the basis of unpaid impromptu performances by customers or the landlord. See the *Royal Commission on Licensing* (England and Wales) 1929-1931, Report, 1932, p.56.

74. See *R.O.*, January 24, 1880, p.1, col.5. For further examples see also adverts for the Citizen Inn, Drake St., in *R.T.*, February 11, 1882, p.1, col.2 and for the Dusty Miller *ibid*. January 31, 1880, p.1, col.2. No entrance fee was mentioned in any of these instances.

75. See Mr Tetlow, tape 38A. He said that his father went frequently to the Market House Tavern, Toad Lane, presumably from 1904, the date the family moved from Birmingham to Rochdale.

76. See Mr Rhodes, tape 36B, where he refers to Billy Crossley's Beerhouse on Elliot Street. The owner brewed his own beer and sold it on premises more akin to a private house than a pub; for instance on Sundays regulars invited into the kitchen had to move to allow the oven door to be opened and shut. In addition there were a number of free houses in existence as late as 1939, serving bought beer. See Mr Entwistle, tape 56B and Mr Warburton, tape 45B.

77. See the *Royal Commission on Licensing* (England and Wales) 1929-1931, Report, 1932, p.46. Here the Commissioners consider some of the reasons for the improvement of undesirable public houses.

78. See *R.T.*, October 4, 1924, p.9, col.1 (with pictures). The local news column noted that 'This handsome new hotel, which faces the Town Hall Square is now open for business'. The Castle is referred to by Mr Entwistle, tape 56B, as 'posh'; it was built at around this time, but was situated on Manchester Road. The Farewell Inn, completed before 1933 was situated in Castleton, see *Folder of Buildings and Public Works contracts of R & T Howarth Ltd* (contracts 1927-33) in Rochdale Local History Collection.

79. See Mass Observation, *The Pub and the People*, Gollancz, London, 1943, p.77.

Chapter 8: The Church as a Centre for Leisure

1. The term 'church' hereafter is a term which refers to Anglican, Roman Catholic and Non-Conformist bodies.

2. See Appendix 4.

3. See Mr Sewell, tape 58A, Mr Tetlow, tape 38A, Mr Knight, tape 59A, and Mr Law, tape 60A.

4. See Mr Farrow, tape 15a.

5. See Mr King, tape 18B.

6. In the summer of 1880, 33 churches had Whit-Friday Fields. This author's estimate of average congregation size is 500, including Sunday Scholars, making a following of 16,500. See *R.O.*, May 22, 1880, p.7, col.1, 'Whitsuntide in Rochdale', and May 26, 1883, p.4, col.5, 'Local Statistics of Wesleyan Methodism'; A. Whitehead, *The Baptist Church in Rochdale*, p.45; and *A History of Holland Street Chapel and Sunday School Since its Foundation*, 1942, p.18. The 1851 Religious census recorded that in the Parliamentary Borough of Rochdale (which had a smaller area and population than the succeeding County Borough) there were 14,527 attendances - roughly half the population of 29,195. The attendances at the 23 local places of worship, included figures taken during Sunday morning afternoon and evening, so that as well as including Sunday Scholars, they may also include those people going more than once during the day. Even during the 1850s the church was not popular with working class adults:

> The most important fact which this investigation as to attendance brings before us is unquestionably, the alarming number of the non-attendants.

The census report went on to note the higher proportion of non-attendants amongst the working class than in the middle or upper class. See Census of Great Britain 1851, *Parliamentary Papers* 1852-3, vol. LXXXIX, p.clviii and cclxvii.

7. See K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, p.118.

8. See *A Short History of St. Mary's Parish*, 1914, p.38; A. W. Colligan, *A History of Holy Trinity, Littleborough*, (no date), p.39, *St. Martin's Church Handbook 1862-1937*, 1937, p.43 and also Mr Watson, tape 9A, where he talks about Baillie St. Chapel and the Penn St. Mission.

9. Dances were for several years unpopular with the establishment in the non-Conformist churches. Mr Bailey (tape 33B) spoke of dances being allowed at West St. Baptist Church only after World War One; indeed the disagreement which preceded this decision forced the resignation of the minister. See A. Whitehead, *The Baptist Church in Rochdale*, (pamphlet), 1973, p.45. The Methodist and Congregational Churches also suffered from similar disagreements, see Mr Tomlinson, tape 17B and Mrs Watts, tape 41A.

10. See Mrs Garnett, tape 11a, Mrs Openshaw, tape 46B, Mrs Harrison, tape 13B, Mrs Casson, tape 12A, Mr Tattersall, tape 4A, Mr Bailey, tape 33B, Mr Parkin, tape 21A.

11. See Mr Tattersall, tape 4A.

12. See Mrs Casson, tape 12A, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A, Mrs Openshaw, tape 46B, Mrs Garnett, tape 11A, Mr Weir, tape 1A, Mr Black, tape 26A, Mr Allwork, tape 49A. St. Clement's Church was highly active in each of these areas and had a special reputation for its sporting programme, see C. E. Warrington, *The History of A Parish*, (pamphlet), 1968, p.87.

13. Dane St. Chapel, by no means sporting the largest congregation in the town saw roughly 200 people take part in the walk and enter the Friday Field each year during the decade before World War One. See Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A.

14. That is with two of the four legs of a pair of contestants tied together.

15. See Mr Tomlinson, tape 17A; Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A; Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A; Mr Hall, tape 42A and Mr Law, tape 60A.

16. See Mr Hall, tape 42A.

17. See Mr Watson, tape 9A. He came from a prosperous family who owned a haberdashery business, and as such came from the second rank in the social hierarchy at the church.

18. See *The Methodist Church, Baillie Street, Rochdale, A Centenary History 1837-1937*, 1937, p.33.

19. *Ibid.*, p.34.

20. *Ibid.*, pp.31-32. James Duckworth (senior) was knighted in 1908.

21. See *The History of a Parish*, pp.66-8; and Mrs Masters, tape 19A.

22. See Mr Hall, tape 42A.

23. See Mrs Parkin, tape 18B; she noted a marked reduction in leisure activity at the church once the Walkers left to live in North Wales. This was so even though they sent money for some time after they moved in the early 1930s.

24. See Lowerfold Methodist Church, *Sunday School Centenary Souvenir 1835-1935*.

25. See *The Rochdale Observer*, May 22nd, 1880, p.5, col.5, 'Local News'.

26. See *The Methodist Church, Baillie St., Rochdale, A Centenary History 1837-1937*, p.31.

27. See *A History of Holland St. Chapel Since its Formation*, 1942, p.20.

28. See Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A. (426)

29. See Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A.

30. See *R.O.*, May 22nd 1880, p.7, col.1. Some 33 churches in the borough had Whit-Friday Fields in this year, and in the adjoining areas, including Littleborough, Castleton, Whitworth, Newhey and Norden, a total of 34 did so.

31. *Ibid.*

32. See Mr Fielding, tape 30A, and Mrs Riley, tape 16B. In some cases grandparents gave the money necessary for a dress or a pair of shoes. See Mrs Mason, tape 54B, and Mrs Seddon, tape 34A.

33. See Mrs Masters, tape 19A, and also Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A.

34. See Mrs Mason, tape 54B.

35. See Mr Rhodes, tape 36A. Similar efforts were made in Mr Knight's home, see tape 59A.

36. The Ladies' Classes were sometimes called Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Societies, although Anglican churches did not use this title. See Mrs Ogden, tape 13A.

37. See Mr Knight, tape 59B, and Mr Tipper, tape 44A.

38. See Mr Fawcett, tape 52A.

39. Norman Evans, the comedian, and Herbert Hopkinson, a local football referee, are recalled as examples, see Mr Knight, tape 59B.

40. See Mr Barrington, tape 51B.

41. See *R.O.*, August 1st 1900, p.2, 'Local News'.

42. See Mr Tipper, tape 44A and Mr Ogden, tape 6B.

43. See Mr Barrington, tape 51B. (364)

44. See Mrs Barker, tape 32A, and for a similar example, Mrs Marshall, tape 29B.

45. See Mrs Masters, tape 19A, and Mrs James, tape 22B.

46. See Mr Tetlow, tape 107B (049). In 1897 the Methodist Times had reported a correspondent to the effect that working class people do not go to church because

> ...they cannot dress respectably as they should like, for they feel that there is a marked distinction made between those who dress well and wear meaner clothing.

J. Davies in *The Methodist Times*, February 4th 1897, p.83, cited in *The Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, P.116.

47. See Mr Black, tape 26A (490). Penn St. Mission known as 'The Chapel for the Destitute' was set up by the well-to-do members of Baillie St. Methodist Church, in order to make contact with the poor and supposedly avoid the stigma which stood in the way of this. One respondent went to Sunday School there only to be taken away by her father after a short time; he was quite indignant that his daughter should be associated with such a place. Her father was a foreman in the Woollen Mills of Kelsall and Kemp at this time. See Mrs Gilbert, tape 101A; and also Mr Watson, tape 9A and *A Centenary History 1837-1937*, chapter 8.

48. See Miss Kay, tape 5B.

49. See Mrs Rigg, tape 108B and Mr Barrington, tape 51B.

50. See Mr Tattersall, tape 4A (770) and Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973, p.174.

51. The Turner family, who between 1900 and 1939 had three of its members each become councillor, then alderman and later mayor and justice of the peace, had strong connections with Spotland and Baillie St. Methodist Churches. See *A Centenary History 1837-1937*, p.32 and p.33.

52. See Mr Hall, tape 42A, Mrs Gilbert, tape 101A, and Mr Barrington, tape 104B, respectively, and also Mr King, tape 101B, and Mr Tetlow, tape 107B.

53. See *The Classic Slum*, p.173.

54. See Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City*, Croom Helm, London, 1974, p.114 and p.115.

55. This is implied in the bulk of the tapes with respect to the interviewees and their families. See especially Miss Kay, tape 5B, Mr King, tape 18B, Mr Tomlinson, tape 17B, Mrs bennett, tape 28B, Mr Tattersall, tape 106B. Two people said that they thought most Rochdalians who went to church had done so for social rather than religious reasons. See Mrs Barker, tape 32A, and Mr Tate, tape 3A.

56. See Mrs Gilbert, tape 31B (170). The pub was also warm and an inexpensive venue, but not seen as acceptable for women without their husbands.

57. As opposed to the more popular habit of 'clicking' or 'parading' as a route to courtship.

58. See Mrs Walsh, tape 55A, Mr Tate, tape 3A, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mr Allwork, tape 49b, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A, Mr Barrington, tape 51B, Mr Parkin, tape 21B, Mrs Parkin, tape 18B, Miss Kay, tape 5B, Miss Shaw, tape 43B, Mrs Watts, tape 41B, and Mr King, tape 101B. This, however, did not preclude some individuals from involvement in church-based and commercially-based leisure activities.

59. See Mr Law, tape 60A, and Mr Knight, tape 59a.

60. See Castlemere Methodist Church Sunday School *Centenary Book 1839-1939*, p.20.

61. See *The History of A Parish*, p.87 and also *R.O.* during July of 1891.

62. *Ibid.*, October 4th 1922, p.7, cols. 1-3.

63. *Ibid.*, April 17th 1880, p.6, col.5.

64. *Ibid.*, September 20th 1933, p.6 (whole page).

65. *Ibid.*, September 10th 1887, p.7, col.1, 'Football Notes'.

66. *Ibid.*, September 20th 1933, p.6 (whole page).

67. Very little emphasis seems to have been placed on girls' team games.

68. See Mr Tattersall, tape 4A (461); also Mr Parker, tape 14A, Mr Allwork, tape 49a, and Mr Black, tape 26A, who each played for their church in the Sunday School League.

69. See Mr Black, tape 26A.

70. See Mrs Martin, tape 10A, and Mr Tasker, tape 8A. Mr Tasker spent his childhood in the north Lancashire town of Nelson, but had comparable experience of the Socialist Sunday School there.

71. *Ibid.* The Socialist Catechism is an example of this.

72. See Mrs Martin, tape 10A, and Mr Tasker, tape 8A.

73. See Mrs Rigg, tape 57A, 108B, Mr Tate, tape 3B, Mr King, tapes 18A and 101B, Mr Fawcett, tape 52B, Miss Kay, tape 5B, Mr Bailey, tape 33B, Mr Tetlow, tapes 38B and 107B, Mr Pilling, tape 21B, Mrs Pilling, tape 18B, Mrs Riley, tape 16B.

74. See Robert Q. Gray, *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1976, p.141.

75. See Mr Barrington, tape 51B, Mrs Watts, tape 41A and Mrs Gardiner, tape 23B.

76. See *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, p.330/1.

77. Robert Roberts speaks of the moral authority of the Church being tacitly ignored by the working class undermass in Edwardian Salford, but this does not seem to be the case where the decision whether or not to send children was concerned; see *The Classic Slum*, pp.173 and 175.

78. The evidence suggests that there were two junctures in this 60 year period, either of which could have marked a decisive shift into major decline. Some of the local commentators emphasise the importance of the early 1890s as a turning point, whereas others see the First World War as a crucial phase. See *The History of a Parish*, p.66, *A Centenary History, 1837-1937*, p.80, the *R.O.*, January 15th 1927, p.9, col.4, *The Baptist Church in Rochdale*, p.45, Dearnley Methodist Church *Centenary Souvenir Brochure*, 1968, p.6, the *R.O.*, April 4th 1934, p.5, col.4, and Mr weir, tape 1A, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23B, Mr Hall, tape 42A, Mr Fawcett, tape 52A, and Mrs Masters, tape 19A. Historians have offered differing interpretations of national decline in this period. Robert Roberts indicates that from 1900 onwards, fewer and fewer Salfordians were involved with church-based leisure, and that a pervasive though tacit disenchantment with the institution had occurred generations before. K. S. Inglis sees a national religious decline taking place several decades before 1900, but that it was accentuated after that date. Paul Thompson and Hugh McLeod see a roughly similar pattern; between 1900 and 1914, commercially based entertainment and the desire to stay at home had become increasingly important factors. See *The Classic Slum*, p.173 and p.175, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, p.323 and p.118, Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians*,

Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1975, p.213, and *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City*, p.114.

79. See *The History of a Parish*, p.66, and also Mrs Parkin, tape 18B.

Chapter 9: New and Old Forms of Leisure in Rochdale

1. The title 'Rushbearing' arose from the tradition of collecting rushes which would then be carried in procession to church, where they were scattered on the ground to act as a winter carpet. Although the processions dated back to before the reformation, and had been popular throughout the North West of England, by the middle of the 19th century they were a pale, grotesque shadow of their former importance. In Rochdale, by 1880, the habit had died out except for carts of rushes that attempted to enter from surrounding pennine areas, but were met with a magistrate's ban and stiff police resistance. There was an attempt at resurrection at some point between 1890 and 1900 by James Dearden, Lord of the Manor of Rochdale, but the new version was completely without the ethos of the old. Elsewhere in the North-West region the tradition continued after 1880, but the combined pressure of largely hostile policing and highly critical religious opinion - mainly non-conformist in origin - was in many places enough to kill the event, as had happened in Rochdale decades before. A by-product of the original festivities had been the travelling fairs which seem to have been less of a target for opposition and were allowed to continue. See John Harland and T. T. Wilkinson, *Lancashire Legends*, John Heywood, London, 1872, p.112-3; Alex Helm, 'The Rushcarts of the North West of England' in *Folk Life*, Journal of the society of Folk Studies, vol. III, 1971; R. P. Taylor, *Rochdale Retrospect*, The Corporation, Rochdale, 1956, p.76; *R.O.*, August 21st 1880, p.6, col.6; *R.T.*, August 21st 1880, p.5, col.3; John Ashworth, *Jimmy The Rushcart Driver* (no date), L. Nuttall, *Rushcarts*, (no date); both are critical pamphlets written by non-conformists and probably circulated between 1865 and 1875; and also Robert Poole, 'Oldham Wakes', in J. K. Walton and J. Walvin, *Leisure in Britain 1780-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1983.

2. See *R.O.*, August 21st 1880, p.6, col.6 and p.8, col.1 and also J. R. Vincent, 'The Electoral Sociology of Rochdale' in *The Economic History Review*, second series, Vol. XVI, no.1, 1963, pages 83 and 86.

3. See *R.O.*, August 26th 1882, p.5, col.2.

4. See *Lancashire Legends*, p.119, and 'Rushcarts of the North West of England'.

5. See *R.O.*, August 21st 1880, p.6, col.6.

6. *Ibid.*, and August 19th 1908, p.5, col.3, August 24th 1910, p.5, col.2, August 26th 1930, p.7, col.1 and August 25th 1934, p.9, col.2.

7. See *R.T.*, August 21st 1880, p.5, col.3. The Rochdale Pioneers' Society (Coop) took 1,000 to Liverpool, 1,780 to Blackpool, and 390 to Windermere. The Rochdale and District Temperance Band of Hope took 1,000 on their outing, and Clover St. Sunday School took nearly 1,000 to Blackpool for the day. A further 5,000 went away with six similar institutions also listed in column three of this issue of the paper.

8. See *R.O.*, August 22nd 1891, p.4, col.5.

9. *Ibid.*, p.5, col.4.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, August 20th 1902, p.5, 'Rushbearing'.

12. *Ibid.*, compare August 24th 1910, p.5, col.2, with August 22nd 1896, p.5, col.2.

13. *Ibid.*, August 30th 1922, p.7, col.1.

14. *Ibid.*, August 26th 1930, p.7, col.1.

15. *Ibid.*, August 28th 1934, p.9, 'Rushbearing'.

16. *Ibid.*, August 30th 1922, p.7, col.1.

17. For Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, see for example *R.T.*, August 21st 1880, p.5, col.3 and August 23rd 1890, p.5, col.2.

18. Hollingworth Lake is a man-made lake to the east of the town, Hardcastle Craggs are near to Hebden Bridge, see Ordnance Survey Maps 109, 103 and 104, *Ordnance Survey*, Southampton, 1977.

19. See *R.O.*, August 28th 1934, p.9, 'Holiday Report'; for instance by 1928 coach and rail operators had brought prices down to 5/- return on special cheap trips to Blackpool and Morecambe, *ibid.* August 11th 1928, p.6, col.1.

20. *Ibid.*, August 21st 1901, p.2, col.5.

21. *Ibid.*, August 12th 1896, p.1, col.2.

22. The London and North Western Railway, who worked closely with the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway in South East Lancashire, offered guaranteed excursions. The Railway Company took an estimated booking total from a society or church, whilst at the same time agreeing to waive charges for any seats on the train not filled. See LNWR *Passenger Traffic Committee Minutes*, June 1891 - November 1893, 7th June 1891, items 74 and 75.

23. See *Statement of the Area, Population, Industries, Principal Trades, Payments and Sales Organisation in the Manchester Passenger District*, LMS, London, September 1933, p.3.

24. In 1926 Reliance Motors had established a regular coach service for those who wished to go boating, dancing, or simply visit one of the tea rooms at the lake. See *R.O.*, August 14th 1926, p.1, col.1.

25. *Ibid.*, August 22nd 1896, p.5, col.2. The commentator noticed less drunkenness than was the case when the Rushbearing Carts were a regular feature.

26. *Ibid.*, August 22nd 1896, p.5, col.2.

27. See *R.T.*, August 21st 1880, p.5, col.3.

28. *Ibid.*, August 23rd 1890, p.5, col.2.

29. See 'Planning For Holidays' in *Planning* (a broadsheet issued by Political and Economic Planning) no.194, October 13th, 1942, p.2.

30. See Mr Tate, tape 3B (he had paid holidays whilst a work inspector in an engineering factory), Mrs Martin, tape 10B (an office worker), Mr Ogden, tape 11B (he had paid holidays once he became an overlooker in the 1920s), and Mr Barrington, tape 51B (he was a technical worker).

31. See Mrs Masters, tape 19A, and Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A. Mrs Barker, tape 32A, offers a similar story; she went to New Brighton for half a day when she was 14 - "I thought I was 'Queen of England'" (79).

32. See Mrs Challinor, tape 25B.

33. See Mrs Seddon, tape 34A.

34. See Mr Ogden, tape 6B.

35. See Mr Bailey, tape 33B, and Mr Tetlow, tape 38A.

36. See Mr Tattersall, tape 4A, Mrs Gilbert, tape 31A, and in relation to workplace outings, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mrs Todd, tape 53B, and Mrs Mason, tape 54B.

37. See *Industrial Welfare*, April 1927, p.VI, where there is a full-page advertisement for Cunningham's Camp.

38. See Mrs Garnett, tape 11A, Mr Watson, tape 9B, Mrs Harrison, tape 13B, Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mrs Bennett, tape 28A, Mr Tatham, tape 37A, Mrs Todd, tape 53B, Mrs Masters, tape 19A, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A, Mrs Parkin, tape 21B, Mrs Scott, tape 24B, Mrs Abbott, tape 35B, and Mr Hall, tape 42A.

39. See Mr Farrow, tape 15B, Mr Ogden, tape 6B, Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mr Black, tape 26A, Miss Shaw, tape 43A, Mrs Openshaw, tape 46B, Mrs Marshall, tape 29B, and Mrs Rigg, tape 57A.

40. See Mr Ogden, tape 6B.

41. See Mrs Ogden, tape 13A and Mrs Martin, tape 10B.

42. See Elizabeth Brumner, *Holiday Making and the Holiday Trades,* Oxford University Press, 1945, p.10, and Mrs Schofield, tape 7B, Mrs Walsh, tape 55A, and Mr Robb, tape 50A.

43. Any treatment of the resort towns of the region is beyond the scope of this study, but two concise papers are particularly relevant here, both dealing with the social stratification apparent in such towns, see John Walton, 'Residential Amenity, Respectable Morality and the Rise of the Entertainment Industry: The Case of Blackpool, 1860-1914', in *Literature and History*, vol.1, 1975, p.133, and H. J. Perkin, 'The 'Social Tone' of Victorian Seaside Resorts in the North-West' in *Northern History*, Vol. XI, 1976-6, p.180.

44. See Mrs Watts, tape 41A.

45. See Mr King, tape 18A, Miss Long (no tape) and Mr Allwork, tape 49A.

46. See Mr Tate, tape 3B.

47. See 'Planning For Holidays', p.13. The initials W.T.A. stand for Workers' Travel Association.

48. See *R.O.*, January 24th 1880, p.5, col.5.

49. *Ibid.*, April 23rd 1938, p.3, col.4, and August 4th 1888, p.5, col.2.

50. See *R.T.*, January 31st 1880, p.1, col.2, February 11th 1882, p.1, col.2, and *Rochdale Observer*, January 24th 1880, p.1, col.5 and April 23rd 1938, p.3, col.4.

51. *Ibid.*, January 24th 1880, p.5, col.4, where there was a report on a pantomime and February 14th 1880, p.5, col.3, which contained a piece on the English Opera Company who were performing La Sonnambula and Il Travatore during a week's stay.

52. *Ibid.*, October 28th 1882, p.5, col.3. Circuses figured importantly in the entertainment business throughout the urban areas of Britain from the middle of the 19th century. See Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, Croom Helm, London, 1980, p.173.

53. See *R.O.*, April 23rd 1938, p.3, col.4.

54. See Mr Sewell, tape 58A.

55. See *R.O.*, April 23rd 1938, p.3, col.4.

56. See Mr Tatham, tape 37A. The statement about Hargreaves is proved accurate by information in Rochdale Corporation *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Watch Committee*, June 18th 1903, where he is referred to as such.

57. See *R.T.*, August 23rd 1890, p.5, col.6.

58. See *R.O.*, December 22nd 1888, p.4, col.2.

59. *Ibid.*, March 14th 1888, p.2, col.3, April 25th 1888, p.1, col.1, and April 23rd 1938, p.3, col.4.

60. *Ibid.*, February 6th 1901, p.2, col.1.

61. *Ibid.*, April 23rd 1938, p.3, col.4.

62. *Ibid.*, January 21st 1914, p.8, col.5 and January 7th 1914, p.8, col.5.

63. *Ibid.*, November 29th 1922, p.12, col.3.

64. See Mrs Nuttall (no recording). Mrs Nuttall was married to the theatre manager in the interwar years.

65. From 1888 onwards the county and borough councils were entrusted with the Licensing procedures for theatres and Music or Variety Halls, although this power was often delegated to Justices or Magistrates. Before 1888 Justices had dealt with theatre licensing, and Quarter sessions had dealt with music halls. See Report from the Select Committee on Theatres and Places of Entertainment Parliamentary Papers, 1892, XVIII, p.1, report p.iii.

66. See County Borough of Rochdale *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Watch Committee*, 18th July 1889, p.234.

67. See the Report from the Select Committee on Theatres and Places of Entertainment, *Parliamentary Papers* 1892, XVIII, p.1, report iii.

68. See *R.O.*, August 4th 1888, p.5, col.2.

69. *Ibid.*, January 3rd 1891, p.1, col.1.

70. See County Borough of Rochdale, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Watch Committee*, September 2nd 1897, p.396.

71. *Ibid.*, June 18th 1903, p.68. By 1908 the Empire had begun to combine variety with pictures; see *R.O.*, January 29th 1908, p.5, col.2.

72. See 'Report of the Select Committee on Theatres and Places of Entertainment', *Parliamentary Papers*, 1892, XVIII, p.1, report p.272.

73. *Ibid.*, report p.491.

74. See Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1978, p.167; and Penelope Summerfield, 'The Effingham Arms and the Empire: Deliberate Selection in the Evolution of Music Hall in London', in Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo (eds.), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914*, Harvester, Brighton, 1981, pages 216 and 222. Bailey and Summerfield both see a combination of commercial interest and legislation as the impetus behind changes to the music hall.

75. See Mr Tasker, tape 8B, Mr Tate, tape 3B, and Miss Long (no recording) who each saw the Circus of Varieties and the Hippodrome as common. Mr Tasker and Mr Tate were from the prosperous levels of the working class, whilst Miss Long was a school mistress at the girls' grammar school. See also the recollections of the people who had attended the Hippodrome: Mrs Barker, tape 32A, Mr Bailey, tape 33A, Mr Tattersall, tape 32B, Mrs Masters, tape 19B, Mr Tattersall, tape 4B, Mr Farrow, tape 15A, Mr Entwistle, tape 56A, Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mrs Elliot,

tape 20A, Mr Watson, tape 9B, Mrs Nuttall (no tape), Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mr Tetlow, tape 38B, Mrs Challinor, tape 25B, Mr Parkin, tape 21A, Mrs Martin, tape 10A, Mr Weir, tape 2A, and Mrs Openshaw, tape 46B.

76. See *R.O.*, September 6th 1922, p.1, col.4.

77. *Ibid.*, April 23rd 1938, p.3, col.4. On his retirement in 1938, the manager of the Hippodrome recalled 53 years of work on the site. Mr Higgins had begun work as a toffee seller at Jeffreys' Big Top, but he later took the job of stagehand for Smith, Lee and Hargreaves. Eventually he became stage manager, before acting as general manager for the Jacksons.

78. *Ibid.*, July 2nd 1938, p.1, cols. 1 and 2.

79. *Ibid.*, September 29th 1900, p.1, col.1.

80. *Ibid.*, November 14th 1900, p.2, col.3.

81. *Ibid.*, March 27th 1901, p.1, col.1. In January an advert had appeared offering 'fun without vulgarity', with seats costing 6d, 1/- and 1/6, see January 6th 1901, p.1, col.1.

82. *Ibid.*, December 11th 1901, p.5, col.2.

83. *Ibid.*, November 15th 1905, p.5, col.3.

84. *Ibid.*, January 8th 1906, p.1, col.1.

85. See G. J. Mellor, *Picture Pioneers*, Graham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1971, p.11.

86. See *R.O.*, March 25th 1908, p.5, col.1.

87. *Ibid.*, August 5th 1908, p.3, col.1; November 8th, p.1, col.1.

88. *Ibid.*, November 8th, p.1, col.1.

89. See *Picture Pioneers*, chapter 5.

90. *Ibid.*

91. See *R.O.*, January 3rd 1912, p.1, col.1, and January 7th 1914, p.1, col.1, and p.9, col.1.

92. See *Picture Pioneers*, p.48.

93. See *R.O.*, January 3rd 1912, p.1, col.1.

94. *Ibid.*, November 18th 1914, p.1, col.1.

95. The Ceylon had become well established by 1916; *Ibid.*, June 24th 1916, p.1, col.1.

96. *Ibid.*, September 6th 1922, p.7, col.4.

97. *Ibid.*, July 10th 1926, p.1. Nationally 1926 and 1927 brought poorer attendances; see 'The British Film Industry' in P.E.P., 1952, chapter XIII.

98. *Ibid.*, March 24th 1928, p.1, col.7, and August 11th 1928, p.1. Seats at the Victory were 3d, 6d, 9d and 1/- for continuous performances between 6.30pm and 10.30pm. At the Rialto, the plusher of the two seats were 6d, 1/- or 1/3.

99. *Ibid.*, December 17th 1930, p.2, col.3.

100. *Ibid.*, July 2nd 1938, p.1.

101. See *Picture Pioneers*, p.72.

102. Of the 64 people interviewed only one person had never been to the cinema, whereas 28 of them went once a week or more, either whilst children or as adults, or both. See Mrs Harrison, tape 13B, Mrs Barker, tape 32A, Mr Knight, tape 59A, Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mr Sewell, tape 58A, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A, Mrs Scott, tape 24A, Mr Black, tape 26B, Mr Finn, tape 27A, Mrs James, tape 22B, Mrs Ogden, tape 13A, Mr Ogden, tape 6B, Mr Tatham, tape 37A, Mrs Clarke, tape 39a, Mr Weir, tape 1b, Mr Tasker, tape 8A, Mrs Casson, tape 12A, Mr Warburton, tape 45B, Mr Entwistle, tape 56A, Mr Hall, tape 42B, Mrs Watts, tape 41A, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mr Barrington, tape 51B, Mr Fawcett, tape 52B, Mrs Todd, tape 53B, Mr Allwork, tape 49B, Mrs Mason, tape 55B, and Mr Parkin, tape 21A. This is comparable with an interwar study which showed that 40% of Liverpool's population went to the cinema in any given week, see D. Cardog Jones, *Social Survey of Merseyside*, III, p.279-82, quoted in C. L. Mowatt, *Britain Between the Wars*, Methuen, London, 1955, p.250. In 1917 the National Council for Public Morals had reported that

> Roughly speaking, half the entire population, men, women and children, visit a cinematograph theatre once a week.

See, *The Cinema, its Present Position and Future Possibilities*,

Williams and Norgate, London, 1917, section II, p.3.

103. See *R.O.*, January 3rd 1912, p.1, col.1, and March 24th 1928, p.1, col.7.

104. See Mr Parkin, tape 21B, Mrs Ogden, tape 13A, Mrs Challinor, tape 25B, Mrs Martin, tape 10B, Mrs Barker, tape 32A, Mrs Watts, tape 41B, Mr Bailey, tape 33A, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mrs Masters, tape 19A, Mrs Walsh, tape 55A, Mr Parker, tape 14A, Mr Fawcett, tape 52B, Mrs Seddon, tape 34A, Mr Rhodes, tape 36B, Mr Tatham, tape 37A, Mrs Todd, tape 53B, Mr Tetlow, tape 38B, Mrs Harrison, tape 13B.

105. See Mrs Barker, tape 32A, and Mrs Seddon, tape 34A.

106. See Mrs Ogden, tape 13A.

107. See *R.O.*, April 14th 1930, p.1 (ads.) and Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mr Black, tape 26A.

108. See Mrs Challinor, tape 25B, Mrs James, tape 22B, Mrs Bailey, tape 33A, Mrs Harrison, tape 13B, and Miss Shaw, tape 43B.

109. See Mrs Harrison, tape 13B, Mrs Scott, tape 24, Mr Finn, tape 27A, Mrs Barker, tape 32A, Mrs Seddon, tape 34A, Mr Hall, tape 42A and Mr Sewell, tape 58A.

110. See Mr Weir, tape 1B, Mrs Ogden, tape 13A, Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mrs Gilbert, tape 31B, Mrs Simpson, tape 24A, Mrs Barker, tape 32A, Mr Tasker, tape 8A, Mrs Rigg, tape 57B, Mr Bailey, tape 103A, Mr Ogden, tape 6B, and Mr Parkin, tape 21A.

111. See Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, Pelican, 1973, p.175, and *The Cinema, its Present Position and Future Possibilities*.

112. *The Cinema, its Present Position and Future Possibilities*, p.xlv.

113. See Mrs James, tape 22B.

114. See Mrs Rigg, tape 57B, (450).

115. See Mr Black, tape 26A, Mr King, tape 18A, Mr Knight, tape 59B, Miss Garnett, tape 11A, Mrs Barker, tape 32A, and Mr Tattersall, tape 4B.

116. See Mrs Barker, tape 32A.

117. See Miss Kay, tape 5B (289).

118. See Mr Entwistle, tape 56A, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Mr Hall, tape 42A, Mrs Seddon, tape 34A, Mrs Scott, tape 24A, Mrs Masters, tape 19B, Mrs Casson, tape 12A, and Mr Tasker, tape 8A.

119. Four of the interviewees recalled being warned away from the cinema as children. All but one of these went regardless of their parents' wishes. See Miss Long (no tape), Mr Ogden, tape 6B, Mrs Casson, tape 12a, and Mr King, tape 18A. All, save Miss Long, came from working class backgrounds.

120. See *R.O.*, January 3rd 1880, p.1, col.1, for an example of one of the dances of the time, (advertisement):

> Socialist Hall, 28, Blackwater. Tonight a select Dansette will be held in the above hall. An efficient pianist has been engaged. To commence at 7. Tickets 6d each to be had at the door.

121. *Ibid.*, January 6th 1894, p.1, col.1. Parker's dancing classes, and his concerts, offer a contrast to the low tone of the dancing room in the slums of Edwardian Salford, see *The Classic Slum* , p.16.

122. See *R.O.*, November 14th 1900, p.2, col.3.

123. *Ibid.*, July 14th 1900, p.1, col.2.

124. *Ibid.*, January 3rd 1900, p.1, col.1.

125. *Ibid.*, October 27th 1928, p.1, col.1.

126. See Mr Weir, tape 1B (380).

127. See *R.O.*, August 14th 1926, p.1, cols. 1 and 2; also Mr Tattersall, tape 4B, Mr Tate, tape 3B, Mrs Garnett, tape 11A, Mrs Casson, tape 12A, Mr Tipper, tape 44A, Miss Kay, tape 5B, Mr Parkin, tape 21B, Mr Tomlinson, tape 17A, Mrs Riley, tape 16B and Mr Warburton, tape 45A.

128. See Mr Fawcett, tape 52A. He was a Coop employee but promoted dances in his spare time. Mr Tipper (see tape 44A) himself a keen dancer, sold his services as a master of ceremonies.

129. See *R.O.*, August 14th 1926, p.1, cols. 1 and 2. The fee usually included the cost of some light refreshment such as tea, biscuits or sandwiches.

130. See Mrs Scott, tape 24A, Mrs Challinor, tape 25B, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A, Mr Ogden, tape 6B, Mr Tattersall, tape 4B and Mrs Bennett, tape 28B.

131. See *R.O.*, November 5th 1938, p.20, col.1.

132. *Ibid.*, September 29th 1934, p.1, col.1.

133. *Ibid.*, November 5th 1938, p.20, col.1.

134. See Mr Ogden, tape 6B, Mrs Scott, tape 24A, Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mr Parkin, tape 21B, Mr Tomlinson, tape 17A, Mr Tattersall, tape 4B, Mrs Elliot, tape 20A, Mr King, tape 18A, Mr Hall, tape 42B, Mr Warburton, tape 45A, Mr Weir, tape 1B and Mrs Watts, tape 41A.

135. See Mr Wall, tape 42B (323).

136. See Mrs Watts, tape 41a.

137. See Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A (152).

138. See Mrs Scott, tape 24A, and Mr King, tape 18A.

139. See Mr Warburton, tape 45A.

140. See Mr Sewell, tape 58B, Mr Walker, tape 48A, Mr Hall, tape 42B, Mrs James, tape 22A, Mr Parkin, tape 21B, Mrs Casson, tape 12A, Mr Ogden, tape 6B, Mrs Garnett, tape 11A and Mr Weir, tape 1B.

141. See Mr Rhodes, tape 36B.

142. The Carlton also had old-time dancing mid-week on a regular basis, see Mrs Todd, tape 53A and Mrs Martin, tape 10B.

143. See Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mr Walker, tape 48A and Mr Warburton, tape 45A.

144. See Mr King, tape 18A, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A, Mr Barrington, tape 51B, Mr Weir, tape 1B, Mrs Casson, tape 12A, Mrs Abbott, tape 35B, Mr Knight, tape 59B, Mrs Martin, tape 10B and Mrs Rigg, tape 57B.

145. See alan Peacock and Ronald Weir, *The Composer and the Market Place*, Faber Music, London, 1975, p.45, and also R.E. Catterall, 'Electrical Engineering', in N. K. Buxton and D. H. Aldcroft (eds.), *British Industry Between the Wars*, Scolar Press, London, 1979, p.264.

146. Only ten out of the sixty respondents on this topic had no gramophone in the parental home, or their own. See Mr Tattersall, tape 4B, Mrs Martin, tape 10B, Mr Ogden, tape 11B, Mr Tomlinson, tape 17B, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23B, Mrs Scott, tape 24B, Mr Bailey, tape 33B, Mrs Walsh, tape 55A, Mr Entwistle, tape 56A, Mr Law, tape 60A.

147. See, Copyright Royalty Report of Inquiry, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1928, VII, p.604.

148. *Ibid.*, p.605. See also Mr Allwork, tape 49B, Mrs Gilbert, tape 31B, and Mrs Mason, 55B, who each bought records at Woolworths. Mrs Mason also remembers travelling to Oldham Market to buy cheap records as well as buying herself a secondhand gramophone and collection of records.

149. See Mr Redfern, tape 6A, Mrs James, tape 22B, Mrs Mason, tape 55B, Mr Fielden, tape 30B, Mrs Casson, tape 12B, Mr Parkin, tape 21A, Mr Barrington, tape 51B, Mr Weir, tape 2A, Mrs Cheetham, tape 47B, Miss Shaw, tape 43A.

150. See Miss Kay, tape 5B, Mrs Schofield, tape 7B, Mrs Elliot, tape 20B.

151. See *The Composer in the Market Place*, pages 45 to 47.

152. See Mrs Abbott, tape 35B, Mrs Challinor, tape 25B, Mrs Gilbert, tape 31B, Miss Kay, tape 5B, Mrs Watts, tape 41B and Mr Hall, tape 42B.

153. See Mrs James, tape 22B, and Mrs Rigg, tape 57B.

154. See Mrs Masters, tape 19B, Mrs Seddon, tape 34A, Mr Allwork, tape 49B, Mr Fielding, tape 30B, Mrs Rigg, tape 57B, Mrs Watts, tape 41B, Mr Tasker, tape 8A, Mr Tate, tape 3B, Mr Weir, tape 2A, and Mr Redfern, tape 6A.

155. See Mrs Casson, tape 12B, Mr Barrington, tape 51B, Mrs Gilbert, tape 31B, and Mr Allwork, tape 49B. At least fourteen chapels performed 'The Messiah' in the year 1900, although this had declined to four in 1926. See The Rochdale Observer, December 8th 1900, p.1, col.1, and December 8th 1900, p.1, col.1, and December 8th, 1926, p.1, col.1.

156. See Mrs Garnett, tape 11a, Mrs James, tape 22B, Mr Tatham, tape 37A, Mrs Clarke, tape 39A, Mrs Todd, tape 53B, and Mrs Mason, 55B.

157. See Mrs Todd, tape 53B and Mrs Mason, tape 55B.

158. See Mrs Seddon, tape 34A, Mrs Marshall, tape 32B, Mrs Watts, tape 41B, Mrs Shaw, tape 43A, Mr Barrington, tape 51B, Mr Tasker, tape 8A, Mr Parkin, tape 21A, and Mrs Seddon, tape 34A.

159. See Mrs Marshall, tape 32B.

160. See Miss Shaw, tape 43A, Mr Tasker, tape 8A, and Mr Parkin, tape 21A.

161. See 'Electrical Engineering', in *British Industry Between the Wars*, p.263.

162. *Ibid.* Catterall cites a reduction of overall production costs plus the effects of a rise in real wages and salaries, for those in work.

163. See Miss Kay, tape 5B, Mr Finn, tape 27A, Mr Redfern, tape 6A, Mr Ogden, tape 11B, Mrs Ogden, tape 13A, Mr King, tape 18A, Mrs James, tape 22B, Mrs Casson, tape 12B, Mrs Masters, tape 19B, Mrs Scott, tape 24B, Mrs Schofield, tape 7B, Mr Tasker, tape 8A, Mr Tetlow, tape 38B, Mr Warburton, tape 45B, Mrs Cheetham, tape 47B, Mr Barrington, tape 51B, Mrs Walsh, tape 55A, Mr Allwork, tape 49B, Mr Black, tape 26B, and Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A.

164. Only 8 people had no radio in the home before 1939: see Mr Tomlinson, tape 17B, Mrs Barnes, tape 32A, Mrs Seddon, tape 34A, Mr Walker, tape 48A, Mr Entwistle, tape 56A, Mrs Openshaw, tape 46B, Mrs Marshall, tape 32B, Mr Rhodes, tape 36B, Mrs Marshall, tape 32B, Mr Rhodes, tape 36B. However, Mrs Openshaw, Mrs Marshall and Mr Rhodes bought sets during the Second World War.

165. For those who had crystal sets, see Mr Weir, tape 1B, Mr Tate, tape 3B, Miss Kay, tape 5B, Mr Redfern, tape 6A, Mrs Garnett, tape 11A, Mr Ogden, tape 11B, Mr Farrow, tape 15B, Mr Parkin, tape 21B, Mrs James, tape 22B, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A, Mr Finn, tape 27A, Mrs Challoner, tape 25B, Mr Fielding, tape 30B, Mrs Stott, tape 35B, Mr Tetlow, tape 38A, Mrs Watts, tape 41B, Miss Shaw, tape 43A, Mr Tipper, tape 44B, Mrs Cheetham, tape 47B, Mr Barrington, tape 51B, Mrs Todd, tape 53B, Mrs Mason, 54B, Mrs Rigg, tape 57B and Mr Knight, tape 59B. For those who bought valve sets between the later 1920s and 1939, as replacements, or as the first they owned; see Miss Kay, tape 5B, Mrs Schofield, tape 7B, Mr Tasker, tape 8A, Mrs Martin, tape 10B, Mrs Casson, tape 12B, Mrs Harrison, tape 13B, Mr Farrow, tape 15B, Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mrs James, tape 22B, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A, Mr Black, tape 26B, Mr Fielding, tape 30B, Mrs Gilbert, tape 31B, Mr Bailey, tape 33B, Mrs Stott, tape 35B, Mr Tatham, tape 37A, Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mr Tipper, tape 44B, Mrs Cheetham, tape 47B, Mr Barrington, tape 51B, Mrs Todd, tape 53B, Mrs Mason, tape 55B, Mrs Rigg, tape 57B, Mr Robb, tape 50B, and Mr Parker, tape 14B.

166. See Mrs Gardiner, tape 23A.

167. See Mrs Cheetham, tape 47B.

168. See Mr Tatham, tape 37A, who purchased a radio in 1932 'when they were quite common'. Also see Mrs Harrison, (tape 13B) who bought their radio in 1938.

169. See Mrs Mason, tape 55B, Mr Robb, tape 50B, and Mrs Riley, tape 16B.

170. See Mrs Watts, tape 41B, Mrs Scott, tape 24B, Mr Hall, tape 42B, Mr Sewell, tape 58B, and Mrs Stott, tape 35B.

171. See Mrs Stott, tape 35B, and also 'Electrical Engineering' in *British Industry Between the Wars*, p.263.

172. See 'The Report of the Broadcasting Committee, 1935, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1935/6, VII, p.617, report page 39.

173. See Mrs Scott, tape 24B, Mr Barrington, tape 51B, and Mrs Garnett, tape 11A.

174. See Mrs Garnett, tape 11A, Mr Tetlow, tape 38B, Mr King, tape 18A, Mr Warburton, tape 45B, and Mr Robb, tape 50B, as opposed to Mr Weir, tape 1B, Mr Tate, tape 3B, Miss Kay, tape 5B, Mrs Schofield, tape 7B, Mr Tasker, tape 8B, Mrs Martin, tape 10B, Mr Ogden, tape 11B, Mrs Ogden, tape 13A, Mr Parker, tape 14B, Mrs Harrison, tape 13B, Mrs Riley, tape 16B, Mrs Gardiner, tape 23B, Mr Black, tape 26B, Mrs Stott, tape 35B, Mr Tatham, tape 37a, Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mr Tipper, tape 44B, Mrs Cheetham, tape 47B, Mrs Todd, tape 53B and Mrs Rigg, tape 57B.

175. See Mrs Masters, tape 19B, Mrs Casson, tape 12B, and Mr Hall, tape 42B.

176. See Mrs Casson, tape 12B, Mrs Bennett, tape 28B, Mrs Walsh, tape 55A and Mr Tasker, tape 8B.

177. See 'The Report of the Broadcasting Committee, 1935', report page 31.

178. See Mr Bailey, tape 33B, Mr Tipper, tape 44B, Mr Sewell, tape 58B, Mrs Garnett, tape 11a, Mrs Casson, tape 12B, Mrs Riley, tape 16B and Mrs James, tape 22B.

179. See Mr Weir, tape 1B, Mr Tate, tape 3B, Mrs Garnett, tape 11a, Mrs Martin, tape 10B, Mrs James, tape 22B, Mrs Scott, tape 24B, Mrs Bennett, tape 28B, Mrs Stott, tape 35B, Mrs Ferguson, tape

180. See 12th BBC Annual Report, 1938, p.7 where the Corporation announced that

> An interesting feature of the year's work was the development of serial plays, including adaptations of two 19th century romances, "The Count of Monte Cristo" and the "Cloister and the Hearth", modern thrillers, such as "The Gangsmasher" and "Send for Paul Temple", and a study of domestic life entitled "The English Family Robinson".

181. See Mrs Martin, tape 10B, Mrs Casson, tape 12B, Mrs James, tape 22B, Mr Black, tape 26B, Mrs Ferguson, tape 40A, Mr Tipper, tape 44B, Mrs Todd, tape 53B. Tommy Handley and Sandy Powell very particularly liked. Mr Tate, tape 3B, Mrs Martin, tape 10B and Mr Fawcett, tape 52B, spoke of Children's Hour.

182. See The Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, Return of Clubs in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1898, XXXVII, p.1, report p.142. The Brickcroft Workmen's Club, with 540 members - the largest in Rochdale - was open from 8am to no fixed time, and asked for an annual subscription of 5/- (the mode average for the 27 clubs).

183. *Ibid.*

184. See G. B. Wilson, *Alcohol and the Nation*, Nicholson and Watson Ltd, London, 1940, p.138.

185. See *The Royal Commission on Licensing (England and Wales), 1929-31* Report (1932), p.103.

186. See *R.O.* January 24th 1880, p.2, col.5, and *R.T.*, January 31st 1880, p.1, col.1.

187. See *R.O.*, July 8th 1891, p.2, col.5.

188. *Ibid.*, February 14th 1880, p.5, col.2.

189. See *R.T.*, January 31st 1880, p.1, col.1 and *R.O.*, March 17th 1888, p.5, col.2.

190. See W. H. Brown, *The Rochdale Pioneers*, Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society, Rochdale, 1944, and also *R.O.*, January 3rd 1900, p.1, col.1; March 11th 1914, p.5, col.1; July 14th 1900, p.1, col.1; and *R.T.*, August 23rd 1890, p.1, col.1. See also Mrs Walsh, tape 55A, who recalls roughly 30 members at meetings of the Coop Women's Guild during the interwar years.

191. See *Cooperative News*, September 11th 1880, p.608, col.2.

192. *Ibid.*, February 3rd 1923, p.11, col.2, June 16th 1923, p.8, col.1, and *Coop Congress Reports*, 1878, p.49.

193. See *Coop Congress Report 1904*, Paper II, p.376 to 384, where W. R. Rae, Chairmen of the National Cooperative Education Committee demanded a rationalisation of the educational programme away from general subjects (unless there was an existing demand not likely to be fulfilled by the local authorities) and towards instruction in the 'basics of cooperation'.

194. See P. F. Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1971.

195. See *R.O.*, June 18th 1914, p.1, col.3, and July 12th 1902, p.7, 'Local News'.

196. See the *Rochdale and District Temperance Union, 20th Annual Report*, (1909-10).

197. See *R.O.*, October 23rd 1901, p.2, col.2, January 3rd 1900, p.1, col.1, September 29th 1900, p.1, col.1, April 1st 1914, p.5, col.1; and November 13th 1926, p.9, col.4.

198. *Ibid.*, July 25th 1900, p.2, 'Cycling News', and November 24th 1900, p.5, col.1.

199. See *The National Clarion Cycling Club, 1894-1944, Jubilee Souvenir.*

200. See R. D. Fletcher, *A Centenary History of the Rochdale Hornets Football Club Co Ltd, 1871-1971*, p.1 and *New Annals of Rochdale*, p.202-207.

201. See C. E. Sutcliffe (Ed.), *A History of the Lancashire Football Association, 1878-1928*, G. Tomlin & Sons, Blackburn, 1928, p.219 and 220.

202. See *R.O.*, April 17th 1880, p.8, col.2; Report on local clubs set to play in the coming season.

203. See *New Annals of Rochdale*, p.209.

204. Throughout the 60 year period the churches and chapels had promoted team sports, and in May 1911 another dimension was added to existing forms of organisation when the Rochdale and District Amateur Association Football League was formed, *Ibid.*, p.212.

205. *Ibid.*, p.215-219.

206. *Ibid.*, see also Mr Bailey, tape 33A.

207. The 1853 Act passed to suppress betting houses banned ready money betting on premises singularly set out for such purposes, although postal or credit bets were allowed, and bookmakers could seek business in parks or race courses. However, the result of this Act, for ready money betting, was that the bookmakers began to receive bets in the streets. See: Report of the Select Committee on Betting Duty, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1923, V, p.VII.

208. See Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex Politics and Society*, Longman, 1981, p.85.

209. See the Report of the Select Committee on Betting Duty, 1923, V, p.VII.

211. See the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, 1902, p.450 and p.479.

212. Both publications cited in *Alcohol and the Nation*, p.254.

213. *Ibid.*

214. Charles Madge and Tom Harrison (eds.), *Mass Observation, The First Year's Work, 1937-8*, Lindsay Drummond, London, 1938, pages 32 to 46.

215. See the Report of the Select Committee on Betting Duty 1923, V, p.13.

216. See *R.O.*, October 27th 1883, p.5, col.5.

217. See Mr Tomlinson, tape 17A.

218. See New Annals of Rochdale, pages 215 to 219.

219. See Rochdale Borough *Magistrates' Court Records*: July 28th 1880; May 11th, November 9th 1899; April 22nd, July 1st, 22nd, 29th and August 12th 1908; March 20th, August 25th 1933; and Rochdale Corporation, *Proceedings of the Watch Committee* for 1899. Tracts of spare land and passageways between rows of houses were favourite places for gambling.

220. *Ibid.*: April 1st, 22nd, June 5th, 10th, August 5th, 12th 1908; July 28th, August 28th, 30th 1933. The last two cases were as a result of arrests made near the Hippodrome on Newgate; both men were found guilty, one carried £7-5s-1d and the other £13-10s-2d.

221. See Rochdale Corporation, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Watch Committee*; July 9th 1885, p.21. This club had refused to give information to the 1898 Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing laws, when the other 26 clubs in Rochdale furnished details, see *Parliamentary Papers* 1898 XXXVII, p.1, report p.142.

222. See Rochdale Borough *Magistrates' Court Records*, July 1880 to September 1881. Sporadic policing means that these figures should not be taken as in any way representing the *extent* of illegal activity. See Ross McGibbin's remarks on this in his article on 'Working Class Gambling in Britain, 1880-1939', in *Past and Present*, no.82, February 1979, p.151.

223. See Rochdale Borough, *Magistrates' Court Records*; September 28th, October 14th, 16th, 21st, November 4th, 6th, 11th, 25th, December 2nd, 11th, 13th 1907; January 20th, 24th, February 3rd, 7th, 10th, 24th, March 9th, 11th, 27th, May 20th, June 15th, 16th, 22nd, August 5th, 14th 1908; May 8th, June 14th 1933. See also the map in Appendix 4.

224. *Ibid.*, June 15th 1908.

225. *Ibid.*, December 9th 1908, March 11th and July 10th. The last two dates involved alleged brothels in Middle Lane and Sussex Street.

226. See *New Annals of Rochdale*, p.175 and 6.

227. *Ibid.*

228. *Ibid.*

229. See County Borough of Rochdale *Accounts and Reports*: 1908-9, p.364, 1918-19, p.427, 1930-31, p.468.

230. R. P. Taylor, *Rochdale Retrospect*, The Corporation, 1956, p.186.

231. *Ibid.*, p.131.

232. See *Coop News*, October 11th 1879, p.661, cols. 2 and 3, and *Parliamentary Papers* 1884-5, LXI, p.267.

233. See *Parliamentary Papers* 1884-5, LXI, p.267, and 1927, XII, p.231.

234. See Cooperative Congress Report, 1904, paper II, p.379.

235. See County Borough of Rochdale *Accounts and Reports* 1930-1, p.492.

Chapter 10: The Newer Commercial Forms: Some National Features

1. See H. E. Browning and A. A. Sorrell, 'Cinemas and Cinema-going in Great Britain' in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, series A, vol. CXVII, 1954, part II, p.133, and S. Rowson, 'A Statistical Survey of the Cinema Industry in Great Britain in 1934', *Ibid.*, vol.99, 1936, p.67. The Browning and Sorrell article contains a re-working of the calculations made by Rowson.

2. See *Kinematograph Yearbook and Directory*, 1914, p.13, 'A Statistical Survey of the Cinema Industry in Great Britain in 1934', p.67, and *The British Film Industry*, P.E.P., London, 1952, Chapter XIII.

3. See H. E. O. James and F. T. Moore, 'Adolescent Leisure in a Working Class District', in *Occupational Psychology*, Vol. 14, no. 3, July, 1940, p.132 (a study of Hulme, Manchester), 'Film Survey of Worktown 1938', in the *Mass Observation Archive*, box W21/D, (a survey of Bolton), Richard Evans and Alison Boyd, *The Use of Leisure in Hull*, (pamphlet), Hull, 1933, p.8, David Cardog Jones (ed.), *A Social Survey of Merseyside*, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1934, III, pages 279 to 282, B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty and Progress*, Longmans, Green & Co, London, 1941, pages 412, 413, 470 and 471. For an example dealing with the capital see Ruth Bowley, *The New Survey of London Life and Labour*, vol. IX (Life and Leisure), King & Son, London 1935, pages 43 to 46.

4. *Ibid.*, and see also Frances Rust, *Dance in Society*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1979, p.93.

5. See *BBC Annual Report*, 1927, p.8 and 1938, p.3. Unlicensed listening was a problem throughout the period and figures may represent an understatement of numbers tuning in; see R. E. Catterall, 'Electrical Engineering' in N. K. Buxton and D. H. Aldcroft (eds.), *British Industry Between the Wars*, Scolar Press, London, 1979, p.261.

6. *Ibid.*, p.262.

7. See 'Music by Massed Production' in *The Melody Maker and British Metronome*, October 1926, p.21.

8. See *R.O.*, January 18th 1928, p.2 (advertisement).

9. These prices are exclusive of the entertainments tax first levied in 1916. See 'A Statistical Survey of the Cinema Industry in Great Britain in 1934', p.115.

10. See 'Observations at Dance Halls', in the *Mass Observation Archive*, box W.30 (observations made at dance halls in Bolton during 1937, 1938 and 1940), *Poverty and Progress*, p.375 and the *Dancing Times*, August 1935, p.553.

11. See 'Electrical Engineering', p.263, where the author notes that between 1920 and 1938, real wages and salaries for employed people rose by 27%. The 10/- license fee introduced in 1925 also became less expensive in real terms over this period.

12. See *The Melody Maker*, February 1926, p.2, and alan Peacock and Ronald Weir, *The Composer and the Market Place*, Faber Music, London, 1975, p.47.

13. See *The Composer and the Market Place*, p.62 and 'Music by Massed Production', p.21.

14. See *The Gramophone*, January 1939, p.353. In 1923 even portable record players were relatively expensive; Decca sold machines for between £3-12s-6d and 9 guineas, whilst HMV made a particularly strong bid for the middle class market with 'A splendid gramophone for the holidays', priced at £10. In a large advertisement that appeared in *The Gramophone* a touring car and large Tudor style house were pictured with an inset of the H.M.V. machine, *Ibid.*, August 1923, p.IV and June 1923, p.VI.

15. See 'Music by Massed Production', p.20.

16. *Ibid.*

17. See Asa Briggs, *Mass Entertainment: The Origins of a Modern Industry*, Joseph Fisher Lecture, Adelaide, 1960, p.22.

18. See 'Sir Louis Sterling: "A Pioneer of a Great Industry"', in *The Gramophone*, June 1937, pages 5 to 7.

19. See *Kinematograph Yearbook Diary and Directory*, 1914, pages 18 and 19.

20. See the *Bioscope*, April 3rd 1929, p.29.

21. See F. D. Klingender and Stuart Legg, *The Money Behind the Screen*, (A Report Prepared on behalf of the Film Council), Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1937, p.22. Of course, such developments were prefigured by the music hall. The first limited liability company to run a music hall began trading in 1864 and paid handsome dividends. The music hall also saw large and commercially significant circuits such as those founded by Moss and also Oswald Stoll. See Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian*

England, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1978, pages 148 and 149 and *The Theatre, Music Hall and Cinema Companies Blue Book*, 1917, pages 27, 28 and 36.

22. See Rachael Low, *The History of the British Film, 1918-1929*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1971, pages 71 to 76.

23. See C. L. Mowatt, *Britain Between the Wars*, Methuen, London, 1955, p.247.

24. See David Robinson, *World Cinema*, Eyre Methuen, London, 1973, pages 255 to 258.

25. *Ibid.*

26. See *The Money Behind the Screen*, for example page 33, where the main creditors of London Film Productions are listed as the Prudential Assurance Co.

27. *Ibid.*, pages 13 to 22, and *Britain Between the Wars*, p.247.

28. *Ibid.*

29. See *World Cinema*, pages 72 and 73, and Roy Armes, *A Critical History of British Cinema*, Secker & Warburg, London, 1978, pages 33, 113 and 114.

30. See *World Cinema*, p.72 and for similar developments in popular music, *The Gramophone*, March 1933, p.xv.

31. See *Leisure and Class in Victorian Britain*, pages 150 to 152.

32. See *Poverty and Progress*, p.471, and *Michael Balcon Presents a Lifetime of Films*, pages 33, 108 and 109, cited in *A Critical History of the British Cinema*, p.90.

33. See Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, Pelican edition, 1973, p.120.

34. See *A Critical History of the British Cinema*, p.114.

35. See Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*, Penguin, 1958.

36. See *The Classic Slum*, especially Chapter 1.

37. See *The History of the British Film 1918-1929*, Chapter 3 and *The Classic Slum*, Chapter 9. There are signs that social respecta-

bility had been won for the cinema before 'The Great Release', see *Kinematograph Yearbook and Directory*, 1914, pages 13 and 15.

38. See *The History of the British Film 1919-1929*, Chapter 3.

39. See 'Saturday Night at the Palais' in *The Economist*, February 14th 1953, pages 401 and 402, *Poverty and Progress*, p.413, and *Mass Entertainment· The Origins of a Modern Industry*, p.18.

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